DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 433 291 SO 031 162

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TITLE Understanding Vietnam in the 21st Century: Political, Economic, and Security Issues in the Asia/Pacific Region. Part III, U.S. and Japanese Relations with Vietnam: Liberalization and Integration.

INSTITUTION Stanford Univ., CA. Stanford Program on International and Cross Cultural Education.

SPONS AGENCY Consulate of Japan, San Francisco, CA.; United States-Japan Foundation.

PUB DATE 1997-00-00

NOTE 184p.; For Part II and III of the series, see SO 031 160-161. Additional funding for this project was also provided by the Stanford East Asia National Resource Center.

AVAILABLE FROM Asian/Pacific Project, Stanford Program on International and Cross Cultural Education, Institute for International Studies, Littlefield Center Room 14, 300 Lasuen Street, Stanford University, Stanford, CA 94305-5013; Tel: 800-578-1114 (Toll Free).

PUB TYPE Guides - Classroom - Teacher (052)

EDRS PRICE EDRS Price MF01 Plus Postage. PC Not Available from EDRS.

DESCRIPTORS *Area Studies; *Asian History; *Asian Studies; Foreign Countries; *Foreign Policy; Global Education; *International Relations; Japanese Culture; Multicultural Education; Non Western Civilization; Secondary Education; Social Studies; Vietnam War; Vietnamese People; *World Affairs

IDENTIFIERS Asia Pacific Region; Japan; United States; *Vietnam

ABSTRACT

This curriculum unit is part three of a three-part series. Each of the three parts can be taught independently. The lessons include perspectives from each of the countries under study. This unit introduces students to policy options for U.S. and Japanese relations with Vietnam at the turn of the century. By identifying and examining these options during Vietnam's growing liberalization and integration into the world community, students will gain an awareness of U.S., Japanese, and Vietnamese perspectives on political, economic, and security issues. Provided is a rationale and introduction to the lessons, along with unit goals, materials, time required, suggested sequence of activities, small group roles, subjects, equipment needed, icons, and policy study references. The six lessons include: (1) "Historical Legacies: The Vietnamese Refugee Experience"; (2) "Vietnam's Politics in Transition: Creating Interest in the News"; (3) "Vietnam's Economy in Transition"; (4) "U.S. Relations with Vietnam: The Debate Over Normalization"; (5) "Japanese Relations with Vietnam: With a Focus on Foreign Aid"; and (6) "ASEAN--Association of Southeast Asian Nations." Contains a list of references for each lesson. (EH)

ED 433 291

UNDERSTANDING VIETNAM IN THE 21ST CENTURY:
POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, AND SECURITY ISSUES IN THE ASIA/PACIFIC REGION

PART III
U.S. AND JAPANESE RELATIONS WITH VIETNAM— LIBERALIZATION AND INTEGRATION

Developed by Gary Mukai
with contributions from Sara Chenette, Amy Cheng, Yu Wen Cheng, Greg Fairbrother, Michael Midling, Silvy Nordquist, and Kwee Foon Tan

SO 031 162

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The principal author of this curriculum unit was Gary Mukai, Asia/Pacific Project Director, SPICE. Contributing authors were Amy Cheng, graduate student, School of Education and Center for East Asian Studies, Stanford University; Sara Chenette, Yu Wen Cheng, Greg Fairbrother, Michael Midling, Silvy Nordquist, and Kwee Foon Tan, former graduate students, School of Education, Stanford University.

We express grateful acknowledgment to the principal advisor of this unit, Jane Boston, SPICE Director, whose leadership and expertise in pedagogy guided the development of this unit.

We are deeply indebted to the principal investigator for this unit, Professor Daniel Okimoto (Political Science), Co-Director, Asia/Pacific Research Center, Institute for International Studies, Stanford University. Professor Okimoto's expertise in U.S. and Japanese relations with Asia, his commitment to improving U.S. and Japanese relations with Asia, and his personal experiences related to the topic of this curriculum unit provided the guidance, inspiration, and vision for this unit.

Special appreciation is extended to the following scholars for their generous advice and support: Dr. Stephen Commins, World Vision U.S., University of California, Los Angeles; Stephen Denney, Archivist, Indochina Archives, University of California, Berkeley; Professor James Freeman (Anthropology), San Jose State University; Professor James W. Morley (Political Science), Co-Chairman, Pacific Basin Studies Program, Columbia University; Professor Michel Oksenberg, Senior Fellow, Asia/Pacific Research Center, Institute for International Studies, Stanford University; Professor Douglas Pike, Director, Indochina Archives, University of California, Berkeley; and Professor Decker Walker (Education), Stanford University.

Professor Douglas Pike and Mr. Stephen Denney were most gracious in commenting on the various lessons of this curriculum unit and sharing information in the Indochina Archives, University of California, Berkeley. The Indochina Archives were the source of most of the perspectives from Vietnam contained in this curriculum unit.

Much gratitude is extended to Dr. Walter Falcon, Director; Nancy Okimoto, Deputy Director; Evelyn Kelsey, Associate Director; and Amy Balsom, Assistant Director; Institute for International Studies, Stanford University, for their support of SPICE curriculum development and their administrative leadership.

Truc Truong, former student, Stanford University; Tinh Vy, Coordinator of the Language Bank, Center for Southeast Asian Refugee Resettlement, San Francisco, California; as well as many other Vietnamese refugees, who chose to remain anonymous, generously provided their personal stories and/or poetry for Lesson 1. Isao Kishi, Chief of the Vietnam Desk, Asian Affairs Bureau, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Japan, generously provided information about the Vietnamese refugee experience in Japan.

Appreciation is also extended to Dr. Do Loc Diep, Director, Center for North American Studies, Hanoi, who visited Stanford University in 1995 as part of the "International Relations Research and Training Delegation from the Socialist Republic of Vietnam to the United States" for his comments on the initial conceptualization of the curriculum unit. Also, Hoang Van Dinh and Nguyen Tuong Lai, Teachers, Hanoi, who participated in a program sponsored by Trans Pacific Exchange, Volunteers in Asia, Stanford University, in 1996, commented on earlier drafts of the curriculum unit lessons.

This curriculum unit references policy studies from the following organizations: The Research Institute on Peace and Security, Tokyo; the Pacific Basin Studies Program, East Asian Institute and the Center for Japanese Economy and Business, Columbia University, New York, New York; and the Asia/Pacific Research Center, Stanford University, Stanford, California.

Many educators commented on the lessons in this curriculum unit. These educators are affiliated with the following organizations or schools: Asia/Pacific Research Center, Stanford University; California Council for the Social Studies; California International Studies Project, Stanford University; Center for East Asian Studies, Stanford University; Committee for Teaching about Asia; Consortium for Teaching about Asia and the Pacific in the Schools (CTAPS), East-West Center, Hawaii; National Council for the Social Studies; former National Precollegiate Japan Projects Network; and the School of Education, Stanford University.

Special appreciation is extended to John Sanford, who served as a consultant and reviewer of this curriculum unit, and provided invaluable insight on the unit's content as well as pedagogy. The following educators provided extensive comments on the curriculum unit: Marimo Berk, San José, California; Ave Bortz, Pasadena, California; Lou Castruita, Hacienda Heights, California; Richard DiGiacomo, San Jose, California; Kristen Druker, La Jolla, California; JoAnn Gillespie, Moreno Valley, California; Carmen Gomez, Palo Alto, California; Michael Green, Lindsay, California; Maryanne Haggerty, San Jose, California; Richard Pauly, Bakersfield, California; and William Zeigler, San Diego, California.

Much gratitude is extended to Dr. Ronald Herring (Executive Director, California International Studies Project, School of Education, Stanford University); Dr. Duarte Silva (Executive Director, California Foreign Language Project, School of Education, Stanford University); Steven Suda (Director, Asian Operations, Development Office, Stanford University); and Tuckie Yirchott (Co-Director, Bay Area Global Education Program) for their continual support.

Much appreciation is extended to the following staff members of SPICE for their valuable advice and assistance: Patricia Cruz, Greg Francis, Pearl Kim, Alan Li, Robin Miyahara, Lucía Nuñez, Ingrid Seyer, and Ciara Stephens.

The curriculum unit cover was designed by Richard Sakai, Y Design, San Jose, California.

Special appreciation is extended to Virginia Iorio for her editorial work and advice; Russ Beebe for formatting the curriculum unit as well as for assisting with the graphic layout; and to Rick Zeeb for developing the maps contained in this curriculum unit. Special thanks to Patricia Cruz for handling the production of this curriculum unit.

This curriculum unit was made possible through the generous support of the United States–Japan Foundation. Addition funding was provided by the Consulate General of Japan in San Francisco; Institute for International Studies, Stanford University; and the Stanford East Asia National Resource Center (HEA Title VI).

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Unit Introduction

UNDERSTANDING VIETNAM IN THE 21ST CENTURY: POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, AND SECURITY ISSUES IN THE ASIA/PACIFIC REGION

U.S. AND JAPANESE RELATIONS WITH VIETNAM—LIBERALIZATION AND INTEGRATION

Rationale and Introduction to Lessons

It is hardly surprising that most Americans of the past generation came to see Vietnam through the lenses of anti-communism, a failed war, and the POW/MIA problem.

These lenses now are of no use. The Vietnam of 1995 is not the Vietnam that American helicopters left when they took off from the roof of the U.S. Embassy in Saigon in 1975. It is a new Vietnam.

On the other hand, the potential of Vietnam has long been more highly appreciated by the Japanese. The integration of Vietnam into the Southeast Asian community has been a central objective of Japanese foreign policy since the announcement of the Fukuda Doctrine in 1977.

The Cambodian War frustrated that purpose and caused Japan to suspend its aid. Even after the war was brought to an end, sensitivity to American attitudes during the prolonged POW/MIA negotiations caused Japan to restrain its interest.

The American announcement on July 11, 1995 (the day that President Clinton announced his intention to establish full diplomatic relations with Vietnam), therefore, was doubly welcomed in Japan. It enables Japan to pursue its interests in Vietnam, with the possibility of moving in parallel with the United States. If we are each to realize the possibilities that this new situation presents, it is imperative that we grasp the realities of the new Vietnam as quickly as possible. (Morley, James W. "The Vietnam Opportunity: American and Japanese Perspectives," *Forum*, Vol. 10, No. 4, Summer 1995, p. 1)

Understanding Vietnam in the 21st Century: Political, Economic, and Security Issues in the Asia/Pacific Region is part 3 of a three-part curriculum series. Parts 1 and 2 focus on U.S. and Japanese relations with China and the Korean Peninsula, respectively. This curriculum series introduces students to policy options for the United States and

Japan in various Asian countries at the turn of the century. Many scholars and business leaders are referring to the 21st century as the "Pacific Age." The rapid economic growth and the accompanying changes unfolding in Asia merit thoughtful attention. *The Asian Wall Street Journal Weekly* has recently noted that by the year 2000, Asian economies will exceed those of Canada, the United States, and Mexico combined. It also notes the following:

- Asia controls two-thirds of all consumer electronics manufacturing and nearly half of the world auto production.
- The GNP of Pacific Rim economies will total an estimated $13 trillion by the year 2000—twice the GNP of a unified Europe.
- In less than ten years, six of the ten largest cities in the world will be on the Pacific—none will be in Europe.

The future of countries such as the United States and Japan is inextricably tied to that of Asia. It is important that as young people study contemporary world issues they develop a knowledge of Asian countries and the issues affecting relationships between their own country and Asia. Working with primary source materials including policy studies, news articles, political cartoons, textbook excerpts, speeches, and/or interviews, students consider the complex interaction of historic, political, economic, and security issues through specific case studies. The students identify and examine these issues and consider important policy questions.

Each of the three parts of this curriculum series can be taught independently. A strong effort has been made to include perspectives from each of the countries under study. For example, in this curriculum unit, *Understanding Vietnam in the 21st Century: Political, Economic, and Security Issues in the Asia/Pacific Region*, perspectives from U.S., Japanese, and Vietnamese scholars, political leaders, business leaders, and journalists are included. Because of this, we feel that this three-part series, taught in its entirety, can add an important element to a high school or community college class in social studies, contemporary world issues, or international relations.

Understanding Vietnam in the 21st Century: Political, Economic, and Security Issues in the Asia/Pacific Region seeks to introduce students to policy options for U.S. and Japanese relations with Vietnam at the turn of the century. By identifying and examining these options during Vietnam's growing liberalization and integration into the world community, students will gain an awareness of U.S., Japanese, and Vietnamese perspectives on political, economic, and security issues.

Lesson 1 of the unit sets the historical context for the study of contemporary U.S. and Japanese relations with Vietnam. The lesson focuses on the plight of refugees from Vietnam and their experiences in the United States and Japan.

Lesson 2 focuses on Vietnam's politics in transition. Since South and North Vietnam were officially unified as the Socialist Republic of Vietnam in 1976, Vietnam's political situation has been in a state of transition. How the communist party-state can liberalize its economic system without weakening the dictatorship of the Party is a central

question facing the government of Vietnam. In this lesson, students will be introduced to this transition through a series of small group activities.

Lesson 3 examines Vietnam's economy in transition. This lesson introduces students to some challenges, obstacles, and achievements of Vietnam's economy in transition. Vietnam's reform policy of *doi-moi* (intended to reduce the role of the state in the economy, respect the market, favor private enterprise, and welcome global traders and investors) is examined through a simulation.

Lesson 4 introduces students to issues related to U.S. policy toward Vietnam, with a focus on normalization. On July 11, 1995, President Clinton announced his intention to establish full diplomatic relations with Vietnam. Issues (e g., MIA/POW, trade, human rights, security) affecting these diplomatic relations are explored.

Lesson 5 introduces students to issues related to Japan–Vietnamese relations, with a focus on foreign aid. Japanese foreign aid to Vietnam serves as a case study. Students learn about Vietnam's position on Japan's official development aid and the priority areas of Japan's official development aid, as well as analyze projects in Vietnam funded with Japanese aid.

Finally, Lesson 6 examines important future areas of cooperation and competition in U.S. and Japanese relations with Vietnam, specifically related to the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN). Vietnam is ASEAN's seventh and newest member. This lesson introduces students to U.S. and Japanese perspectives on Vietnam's entry and role in ASEAN.

Unit Goals

Each of the six lessons in this curriculum unit has specific learning objectives listed. These objectives have been divided into knowledge, attitude, and skill objectives for students. The following reflect larger goals for the curriculum unit as a whole.

In this curriculum unit, students will:

- learn to recognize multiple perspectives presented in the media
- learn to recognize, evaluate, and see beyond cross-cultural stereotypes that have existed historically between the United States, Japan, and Vietnam and that continue to be perpetuated
- examine how historical legacies continue to affect international relationships and events between the United States and Vietnam and between Japan and Vietnam
- develop a basic understanding of Vietnam's political situation and an appreciation of the multiple U.S. and Japanese perspectives on this situation
- become familiar with Vietnam's reform policy of *doi-moi* and some international economic controversies between the United States and Vietnam and between Japan and Vietnam, including conflicts related to trading and investment practices, and analyze the complex issues contributing to these controversies

- learn about issues surrounding the U.S.'s normalization of relations with Vietnam
- learn about Japan–Vietnamese relations through an examination of foreign aid and investment
- become familiar with the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) and the importance of its member nations to the United States and Japan
- learn to think critically and make informed opinions
- evaluate different opinions and generate alternative perspectives on an issue
- learn tools to enhance awareness and communication
- work effectively in small and large groups
- organize and express opinions in a debate

Materials

Handouts and primary source documents have been provided with each lesson to present students with a range of perspectives on the topic being studied. Permission is given to reproduce these handouts and documents for classroom use only. Each lesson provides a list of materials used in that lesson.

Time, Suggested Sequence of Activities

Understanding Vietnam in the 21st Century: Political, Economic, and Security Issues in the Asia/Pacific Region is divided into six lessons. We recommend two to three class periods for each lesson. The various activities have been designed to give students multiple perspectives on the topic being studied.

Small Group Roles

Understanding Vietnam in the 21st Century: Political, Economic, and Security Issues in the Asia/Pacific Region engages students in many small group activities. Some of the suggested roles and responsibilities for students working in small groups are:

- **Facilitator**: responsible for reading instructions or designating someone in the group to read instructions, for assuring that the group is on task, and for communicating with the instructor
- **Recorder**: responsible for writing answers to questions, taking notes, etc.
- **Timekeeper**: responsible for keeping track of the time allocated for activities
- **Materials Manager**: responsible for obtaining and keeping track of materials used by the group
- **Harmonizer**: responsible for the group process, making sure, for example, that no one dominates the discussion and that everyone is participating
- **Reporter**: responsible for organizing group presentations and presenting results of activities to the class

Some lessons in this curriculum unit have specific small group roles listed by individual lesson.

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Subjects This curriculum unit is recommended for use in social studies, history, global/international studies, and contemporary issues classes.

Equipment
- Overhead Projector

Icons For easier reference the following icons are used throughout the unit:

Notes to the Teacher

Small Group Activity

Transparency

Group Presentation

Policy Study Reference Morley, James W. "The Vietnam Opportunity: American and Japanese Perspectives," *Forum*, Vol. 10, No. 4, Summer 1995.

Lesson 1

HISTORICAL LEGACIES

THE VIETNAMESE REFUGEE EXPERIENCE

Organizing Questions

- What are some historical legacies between the United States and Vietnam and between Japan and Vietnam, and how do they influence the relationships and policies between these countries?
- What are some of the experiences of Vietnamese refugees in the United States and Japan?

Introduction

The past half century of Vietnamese history is a history of successive wars. Only fairly recently, since the 1980s, has Vietnam returned to conditions of peace. To some degree, this recent history of war has affected every Vietnamese person alive today.

Following the fall of Saigon in 1975 and the end of the Vietnam War, there was a massive exodus of Vietnamese to the United States and other countries in the world. In this lesson, students will be introduced to the definition of "refugee" from the United Nations Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees of July 28, 1951 and the 1967 Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees. Students will examine the lives and experiences of Vietnamese refugees in two countries, the United States and Japan. Because all U.S. and world history textbooks contain extensive information on the Vietnam War and because of the availability of a wide range of supplementary materials on the Vietnam War, there is little information specifically about the Vietnam War in this lesson. The refugee experience, instead, is the focus of the lesson. Hundreds of thousands of Vietnamese now live in the United States and other countries of the world. Vietnamese-Americans are now enrolled in U.S. schools. What are their families' experiences as refugees?

In part 1, personal stories and poems of Vietnamese refugees in the United States are utilized in small group activities. In part 2, articles from Japanese newspapers are introduced that describe some of the experiences of the approximately 10,000 Vietnamese refugees in Japan, and the ways in which some Japanese have reacted to their presence.

Objectives

knowledge

- to learn the definition of "refugee," as defined by the United Nations Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees of July 28, 1951 and the 1967 Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees
- to gain an awareness of the U.S.'s and Japan's historical legacy in Vietnam

- to appreciate the impact of historical events on the future relations and foreign policies between countries

attitude

- to realize that the behavior of both individuals and countries can often be explained by different past experiences
- to appreciate the experiences of refugees

skill

- to comprehend the challenges and dynamics that influence relations and policies between countries and individuals by relating events in one's own life to the development of one's personality and friendships
- to recognize other points of view, and attempt to formulate fair policy accordingly

Materials

- Map of Asia and the Pacific, overhead transparency
- Four Questions, overhead transparency
- Four Questions Answer Sheet, for the teacher
- Handout #1, Brief History of Vietnam, seven copies
- Definition of "Refugee," overhead transparency
- Personal Stories #1–7, one copy each
- Handout #2, Vietnam and Japan, seven copies
- Handout #3, Making the News in Japan: Japanese Policy Toward Refugees, seven copies
- Handout #4, Making the News in Japan: Stories of Refugees, seven copies

The seven personal stories included in part 1 are from Vietnamese living in the United States. Each Vietnamese refugee who came to the United States has a unique story. It is important to point out to students that although these seven stories do not represent all perspectives of the Vietnamese refugee experience, they do provide a glimpse into that experience.

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Procedure—Part 1

1. Introduce this curriculum unit by informing students that they will be learning about relations and policy issues between the United States and Vietnam, and between Japan and Vietnam. In order to understand the nature of contemporary U.S. and Japanese relations with Vietnam, it is important to appreciate the history of these relationships. In Lesson 1, the students will learn about Japan's and the U.S.'s historical legacies with Vietnam that continue to influence and complicate Japanese–Vietnamese relations and U.S.–Vietnamese relations.

   In subsequent lessons, students consider some of the issues discussed in this lesson relating to the formation of foreign policy, particularly in the areas of politics, economics, and security.

2. As an opening activity, have students locate Vietnam, utilizing the overhead transparency, Map of Asia and the Pacific. James W. Morley and Masashi Nishihara, editors of the book *Vietnam Joins the World*, have noted:

   > With an energetic population of over 70 million, Vietnam is larger than any other nation in Southeast Asia except Indonesia. Its resources are rich and virtually untapped. Its location on the southern border of China and alongside the sea-lanes that link East and West gives it unique strategic leverage. (p. 3)

   Next have students discuss the questions on the overhead transparency, Four Questions. These questions were designed to set the context for some of the issues presented in Lesson 1 and also to introduce some issues of subsequent lessons as well. A teacher guide for Four Questions is provided.

3. To provide a brief historical context for the curriculum unit, divide the class into 7 small groups, and distribute a copy of Handout #1, Brief History of Vietnam, to each group. Students are instructed to take note of Japan's and the U.S.'s history with Vietnam. Spend a few minutes discussing Japan's occupation of Indochina and the U.S.'s role in the Vietnam War.
4. Following this brief geographic and historical context setting, point out that one of the legacies of the Vietnam War was the exodus of Vietnamese refugees to different parts of the world. In their small groups, students will be introduced specifically to the experiences of Vietnamese refugees in the United States and Japan. They will also examine how the refugee situation has impacted Japanese and U.S. foreign relations with Vietnam.

5. First ask students to define the word "refugee." Following this discussion, use the overhead transparency, Definition of "Refugee," which was taken from the Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees of 1951 and the Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees of 1967. Compare "refugee" with "immigrant." Point out that a refugee is one who *flees for safety*—especially one who flees to a foreign country or power to escape danger or persecution. An immigrant is one who comes to a country to take up permanent residence—to "immigrate" is to move into a new country. To "emigrate" is to move away from one's original country. You may also want to describe what it means to "seek asylum" and to "defect." To seek asylum is to request refuge in one country because of the threat of persecution in another. To defect is to leave one country and seek asylum in a country considered its enemy, or one with which it has strong political differences.

6. Distribute one of the Personal Stories #1–7 to each group. Each personal story introduces students to one refugee's experience from Vietnam to the United States. Allow students 20–30 minutes to analyze their stories and to work on the group tasks. Each group should select a group reporter to present the group's task and findings to the rest of the class.

7. Ask the 7 group reporters to come before the class, one at a time, in the order of the Personal Stories #1–7. Have each reporter summarize his/her group's task and findings.
8. Debrief this activity by asking the following questions:
   - How does the Vietnamese refugee experience in the United States continue to influence U.S.–Vietnamese relations?
   - Legacies of the Vietnam War continue to influence U.S.–Vietnamese relations. What are some of the legacies (e.g., MIA/POW issues)students have heard of?

Assessment

In part 1, students engaged in activities through multiple intelligences (e.g., verbal-linguistic, logical-mathematical, visual-spatial, bodily-kinesthetic, musical, interpersonal, intrapersonal). Keep this in mind when assessing student outcomes.

- For Personal Stories #1, #4, and #6, you may want to consider craftsmanship, visual or sensory imagery, language use, and cohesive themes, as well as the students' general understanding of the specific refugee's experience in your assessment of the poems or lyrics for songs.
- For Personal Stories #2 and #7, you may want to consider craftsmanship, appropriate detail, themes, and symbolic meaning, as well as the students' general understanding of the specific refugee's experience in your assessment of the artwork.

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- For Personal Story #3, consider the type of problem solving and collaborative processes used in this task.
- For Personal Story #5, consider the students' ability to synthesize information from the story and focus on key concepts and/or ideas, the appropriateness of the role play format, and time management, as well as the students' general understanding of the specific refugee's experience in your assessment of the role play.

Procedure—Part 2

In part 2, students examine newspaper articles from Japan that introduce students to the Vietnamese refugee experience in Japan. Note that Japan has become a party to the Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees of 1951 and the Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees of 1967, discussed in part 1.

1. Distribute one copy of Handout #2, Vietnam and Japan; Handout #3, Making the News in Japan: Japanese Policy Toward Refugees; and Handout #4, Making the News in Japan: Stories of Refugees, to the same 7 groups as in activity 1.
2. Have students read Handout #2, which provides a historical context for the study of Japan–Vietnamese relations. Have students read Handout #3 and work on the group task listed on the handout. The group task asks students to discuss some of the changes in the Japanese government's policy toward refugees from Vietnam, based on the two articles contained on Handout #3. Students are then asked to read the newspaper articles contained in Handout #4, Making the News in Japan: Stories of Refugees, and choose one of the articles to write a letter to the editor, keeping in mind Japan's historical legacy with Vietnam and, specifically, the Japanese government's policy toward refugees from Vietnam.
3. Debrief this activity by asking the following questions:
   - How does the Vietnamese refugee experience in Japan influence Japan–Vietnamese relations?
   - How are the experiences of Vietnamese refugees in the United States and Japan similar or different?

Assessment

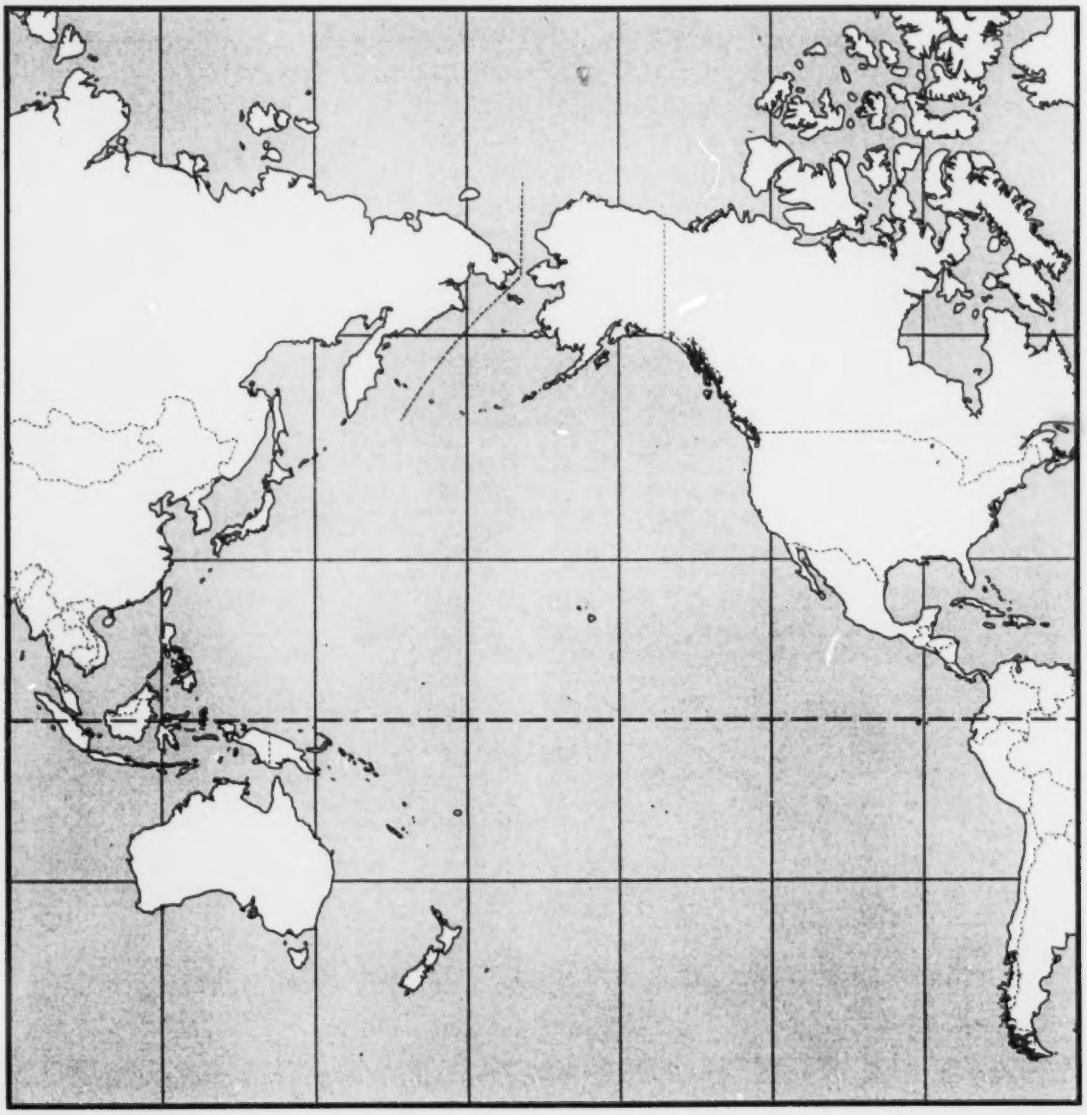
To assess students' letters to the editor, you may want to consider some of the following questions:

- How effectively are concepts described?
- Are diverse perspectives presented?
- How well is the information synthesized?
- Are the letters well written in terms of syntax and grammar?

Policy Study Reference

Morley, James W., and Masashi Nishihara, editors. *Vietnam Joins the World*. New York: M.E. Sharpe. 1996.

Map of Asia and the Pacific



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FOUR QUESTIONS

The U.S. Census Bureau has listed the population of the United States in 1990 at 248,709,873. Of this population, 7,273,662 are listed as Asian/Pacific Islander American (approximately 3% of the U.S. population). Of the Asian/Pacific Islander American ethnicities listed below, what are the six largest?

a. Samoan
b. Korean
c. Chinese
d. Guamanian
e. Filipino
f. Cambodian
g. Japanese
h. Thai
i. Asian Indian
j. Hawaiian
k. Vietnamese
l. Laotian
m. Hmong

What are the six largest foreign investors in Vietnam?

a. China
b. United States
c. Taiwan
d. South Korea
e. Germany
f. Canada
g. Japan
h. Hong Kong
i. Malaysia
j. Singapore

Which of the following countries is the newest member of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN)?

a. Brunei
b. Indonesia
c. Malaysia
d. Vietnam
e. Singapore
f. Philippines
g. Thailand

When did the United States establish full diplomatic relations with Vietnam?

a. 1975
b. 1980
c. 1986
d. 1995

FOUR QUESTIONS ANSWER SHEET

Asian/Pacific Islander American population by ethnicity:

1.	Chinese	1,645,472
2.	Filipino	1,406,770
3.	Japanese	847,562
4.	Asian Indian	815,447
5.	Korean	798,849
6.	Vietnamese	614,547
7.	Hawaiian	211,014
8.	Laotian	149,014
9.	Cambodian	147,411
10.	Thai	91,275
11.	Hmong	90,082
12.	Guamanian	62,964
13.	Samoan	49,345

What are the six largest foreign investors in Vietnam

1. Taiwan
2. Japan
3. Singapore
4. Hong Kong
5. South Korea
6. United States

Source: American Chamber of Commerce. Published in the *San Jose Mercury News*, September 23, 1996.

Which of the following countries is the newest member of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN)?

d. Vietnam (joined ASEAN in 1995)

When did the United States establish full diplomatic relations with Vietnam?

d. 1995

On July 11, 1995, President Clinton announced his intention to establish full diplomatic relations with Vietnam.

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BRIEF HISTORY OF VIETNAM

While reading this handout, take special notice of the interaction between Vietnam and the United States and Japan.

The Vietnamese, who have their ethnic roots in southern China, began settling in the Red River delta some 4,000 years ago. In 111 B.C., the Nam Viet kingdom fell under the authority of Han China and remained its province until 939 A.D. Even after Vietnam gained its independence, Chinese influence continued.

The country's scholars were imbued with Confucian values, and Chinese characters were used for the written language. Many elements of government were borrowed from China, but the Vietnamese always retained their independent identity.

The country was ruled by several Vietnamese dynasties until the early 15th century when the Chinese returned to power. They were driven out in 1428 and were replaced by the Le dynasty (1428–1776), begun by Le Loi.

The Vietnamese also began pushing south, capturing territory belonging to the kingdom of Champa in what is now central Vietnam. In 1471, the Vietnamese finally defeated the Cham and mounted their final march to the south. By 1765, they had captured the fertile Mekong River delta from the Cambodians, thereby gaining control of all of present-day Vietnam.

In the 18th century, an internal squabble erupted, with remnants of the Le dynasty controlling the north and a rival Nguyen family laying claim to the south. Eventually a civil war broke out and, in 1802, the Nguyen group won with help from French mercenaries and missionaries, and established the Nguyen dynasty, headed by Gia Long.

European traders and missionaries had begun arriving in Vietnam in 1511, but those from France gained particular influence after helping overthrow the Le dynasty. Later emperors opposed foreign intervention, but the killing of two Catholic missionaries gave the French a pretext to take Saigon by force in 1859. By 1886, northern and central Vietnam had been incorporated into French Indochina, along with neighboring Laos and Cambodia.

Independence movements became increasingly active in the period prior to World War II. The Japanese occupied Indochina in 1941, but left the Vichy French in control. In March 1945, with defeat inevitable, Japan overthrew the French and granted independence to Vietnam with Bao Dai, the last Nguyen emperor, serving as head of state.

With the sudden surrender of the Japanese in August, the communists, under the leadership of Ho Chi Minh, seized control. Chinese and British forces soon handed the country back to France, which began a long struggle with the communists for control of the country.

The Geneva Agreements in 1954, following the defeat of the French at Dien Bien Phu, left the communists in control of the North and a pro-American, anti-communist regime ruling the South. National elections were to be organized to reunify the country, but they were never held.

In the early 1960s, the United States began sending military advisers to help South Vietnam fight a communist insurgency. The fighting gradually escalated into a full-scale war between southern Vietcong forces, backed by North Vietnamese troops infiltrated into the

South, and southern soldiers supported by increasing numbers of U.S. combat troops. In 1965, U.S. President Lyndon Johnson swung the full weight of the U.S. military machine against the communists and began bombing North Vietnam.

While the fight continued, a long drawn-out series of peace talks began in Paris in 1968. A peace accord was finally signed in Paris on 27 January 1973, which called for a ceasefire and allowed the remaining U.S. forces to withdraw.

The communist forces then launched a new offensive in March 1975 and on 30 April their tanks crashed through the gates of the Presidential Palace in Saigon, ending the war and reunifying the country.

But real peace did not return. In December 1978, after brutal cross-border attacks by Cambodia's Khmer Rouge rulers, Vietnam's army invaded Cambodia, quickly capturing Phnom Penh and driving remnants of Pol Pot's forces to the mountains along Cambodia's border with Thailand. Hanoi then installed a friendly regime in Phnom Penh.

But China, Pol Pot's supporter, reacted by invading northern Vietnam to "teach it a lesson." Chinese troops withdrew after a few weeks, but cross-border artillery bombardments continued until the Vietnamese army completed its phased withdrawals from Cambodia in September 1989.

Most of the non-communist world apart from the United States ended its economic isolation of Vietnam after it signed the Paris peace agreement on Cambodia in October 1991. Economic liberalization since 1986 has produced modest improvements in living conditions and attracted some foreign investment.

Economic development, however, continued to be hobbled by a U.S. trade embargo and veto over IMF and World Bank funding for Vietnam. This, combined with the collapse of communism in the Soviet Union, ending Hanoi's most important source of foreign aid, left Vietnam's reformers struggling to jump-start their economy and helped to strengthen resistance to political liberalization among party hardliners.

Vietnam's relations with China have slowly improved, leading to a state visit to China by Vietnam's President Le Duc Anh in November 1993. In February 1994, Washington lifted its 19-year economic embargo against Vietnam, and in July 1995 the two countries restored diplomatic relations. Vietnam became the seventh and newest member of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) in July 1995.

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DEFINITION OF "REFUGEE"

The United Nations Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees of 1951 and the Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees of 1967 are widely accepted international legal agreements concerning refugees. Under Article 1, Definition of the term "Refugee," a refugee is a person:

> "...owing to well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country; or who, not having a nationality and being outside the country of his former habitual residence as a result of such events, is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it.
>
> In the case of a person who has more than one nationality, the term 'the country of his nationality' shall mean each of the countries of which he is a national, and a person shall not be deemed to be lacking the protection of the country of his nationality if, without any valid reason based on well-founded fear, he has not availed himself of the protection of one of the countries of which he is a national."*

* Source: Pia Zambelli, ed. *The 1995 Annotated Refugee Convention: 1951 Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees* (Ontario, Canada: Carswell Thomson Professional Publishing. 1994). p. 3.

PERSONAL STORY #1

The following story was written by Tinh Vy, Coordinator of the Language Bank, Center for Southeast Asian Refugee Resettlement, San Francisco, California.

On the second day of Tet (Lunar New Year), my fifty-year-old mother came into my room and informed me that in two days I would be going to my sister's house in Da Nang. It was a cold, firm, and brief announcement.

As a twelve-year-old village boy, I was thrilled to have a chance to go to a metropolitan city like Da Nang. For me, this trip would be a typical visit to my sister's family, a chance which I always enjoyed.

On the early morning of the fourth day of Tet, my mom woke me up and said that I needed to be prepared to leave in fifteen minutes because I needed to catch the earliest bus to Da Nang. She didn't have any difficulty waking me up. I was ready to go in ten minutes. At the bus station, my mother began to cry and told me to be good and to listen to my sister and brother-in-law. I didn't understand why she cried. At that moment, my mother's emotional dilemma was the last thing on my mind. My primary concern was to see big ships, tall buildings, and my sister's family.

After I arrived at my sister's house, she took us to her friend's house. We stayed there until we left Vietnam in the middle of the night three days later.

In retrospect, I was very insensitive. The last moment with my mother at that bus station was the most regretful moment of my life thus far. From the point when my mother came into my room and told me that I would be going to my sister's house, she began to absorb the most loss and make the most sacrifice. Looking after my future interest, she decided to take the risk and concurred with my sister's request to let me leave Vietnam.

Until today I have not yet figured out why I was the chosen one. I was not smart by any standard, nor was I a hard worker. My brother told me that I was the accidental choice. The original choice was my brother, who was two years older than me. But when he learned that he would go far away and would not come back, he said, "No, absolutely no." Perhaps that was the reason why my mother didn't tell me the real purpose of the trip.

I visited my family in Vietnam during a Christmas vacation in 1993—with me was a videotape documenting my graduation ceremony at the University of California, Davis. I didn't dwell on past events and didn't attempt to find out why my mother chose me over my other brothers and sisters, but I decided to pay great attention to her emotions. I didn't want to make the same mistake again. The videotape moved my mom to tears and a few nights later she said she was happy that I was able to go to America and have the opportunity to create a productive life for myself. For that reason, she was grateful to God and is finally at peace with her decision.

For me that was all that I wanted to hear. I didn't want my mom to have any sense of guilt. That trip reassured me that she didn't.

After the trip, I came back to begin working at the Center for Southeast Asian Refugee Resettlement. Originally, I was an interpreter and now I am the Coordinator of the Language Bank Project of the Center. Because of my background, I have been working with other organizations in advocating for immigrant rights and serve as a community advocate to bring social change to the indigent community in this state. I have made this my personal responsibility in life.

Group Task

After reading the story by Tinh Vy, discuss the intrapersonal feelings he experienced during his journey from Vietnam to the United States. If you were faced with a similar situation of having to leave your country as a refugee, what types of intrapersonal conflict might you experience? What qualities would help you succeed? Record your responses in a poem.

PERSONAL STORY #2

The following poem was translated from Vietnamese to English. It was written by a former South Vietnamese soldier who lives in San Jose and now sells ice cream on an ice cream truck.

My Ice Cream Truck

My worst fear was life in a re-education camp
for I was a former South Vietnamese soldier
fighting with the Americans against the North
and so tattooed for life

I risked my life for freedom
escaping to Hong Kong in the darkness of sea
180 people on my boat—165 in the end
I brought with me only one thing
The blue shirt on my back

I wear this blue shirt when I deliver ice cream
and feel happy when I make children smile
I cannot have my own children
because of Agent Orange exposure in the war

The music on my ice cream truck
isn't a typical ice cream truck song
It's a children's song from my homeland
a melody that I play over and over—maybe 500 times a day

Only the Vietnamese in my community know the melody
You are the first American to ask me about it
Do people in the United States really care?
As long as they do
I will continue to drive and make children happy

Group Task

After reading the poem, create artwork that illustrates the feelings presented in the poem. The type of artwork is your choice. If colors are used, think of possibly attaching symbolic meanings to them.

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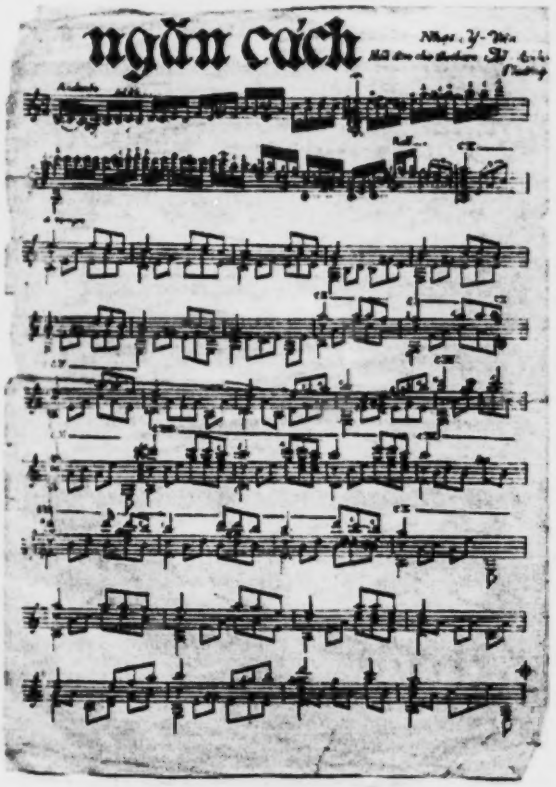
PERSONAL STORY #3

The following short story was translated from Chinese to English. It was written by a Chinese-Vietnamese man who lives in San Jose.

In Vietnam, we are known as Hoa (ethnic Chinese). During the Vietnam War, which many of us call the American War, my father was an owner of a gasoline station near Saigon, now called Ho Chi Minh City. I was the seventh son in a family of thirteen. My mother died when I was ten. Many Chinese-Vietnamese in the former South Vietnam were successful businesspeople, and shortly after the fall of Saigon in 1975, my father lost his business. I was 18 years old, but my father paid someone to change my identification card age to 15. My father was worried that I would be taken into the Vietnamese army and perhaps sent to Cambodia.

One day, my father and mother made arrangements for me to flee Vietnam, as I would have surely been drafted into the Vietnamese army. I was the only child in my family that was selected to leave. I was caught three times trying to escape Vietnam, and thrown in prison. On my fourth attempt, I succeeded in escaping Vietnam to Malaysia. I traveled on a small boat for ten days. During the last three days, we were without food and water. Three elderly people died during the journey. I stayed in a refugee camp in Malaysia before coming to the United States. I flew to Philadelphia and stayed there temporarily, before moving to Texas. I stayed in Houston for a few weeks before coming to San Jose, California in 1984.

The only possession I have from Vietnam is a music sheet. I sometimes play this song on my guitar and remember my family in Vietnam. When I escaped Vietnam, it was the only thing I escaped with—no photographs, suitcase, extra clothes. A park near my home has a South Vietnamese flag hoisted next to U.S. and California flags. I have mixed feelings about this because the United States is now my home. I became a citizen not too long ago. However, the former South Vietnamese flag is a reminder of the home I once had and the home of my parents, sisters, and brothers. I sometimes have nightmares of my time in prison but my wife wakes me up to remind me that I'm now in the United States.

I visited Vietnam two years ago and found out that the Vietnamese government is now allowing my family to run their business again. For many years after the fall of Saigon, the Vietnamese economy suffered greatly, and the government is now encouraging Chinese-Vietnamese to resume their business practices.

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Group Task

After reading the story, discuss the conflicts that this Chinese-Vietnamese faced after the fall of Saigon in 1975. Use a world map to trace and calculate the approximate number of miles the author traveled from Vietnam to his final destination in California. Use this information to write a brief reaction to this story to share with the rest of the class.

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PERSONAL STORY #4

The following poem was written by an Amerasian woman, Kim, from San Jose, California. She was born near Saigon (now Ho Chi Minh City) in 1970 to a Vietnamese woman and an American father, who was serving in the U.S. Army. According to Patrick Du Phuoc Long:

> In 1984 the State Department's Orderly Departure Program enabled 33,419 Amerasians to leave Vietnam, some with their families. Between 1987 and 1992 the State Department accepted 88,000 Amerasians and family members for immigration and rejected 22,000. Fewer than 1 percent were reunited with their fathers. (Patrick Du Phuoc Long, *The Dream Shattered*, 1996, p. 61)

Kim did not come to the United States through one of these programs, but as a refugee in 1980.

Curly Hair

In Vietnam, we are referred to as *bui doi*, "dust of life" or
"children of dust"
I never met my father and was an embarrassment
to my mother
I have curly hair and a dark complexion
So different from Vietnamese
Yet only Vietnamese language and culture I knew
My mother and I left in 1980 a life of despair
In America I held hope that life would be fair
My mother hopes to see my father again
But chances are she never will
I would like to meet my father
even though he abandoned me
I live in the land of my father now
But my mother's description of him
fits ten or more men I see around every day
Yet I hope
to find the man who gave me my curly hair

Group Task

After reading the poem, list or cluster (e.g., by feelings or conflicts) your reactions to the poem. Using these lists or clusters, write your own group poem that captures your feelings or reactions to "Curly Hair."

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PERSONAL STORY #5

The following story was written by Truc Truong, a former resident of San Jose, California, and graduate of Stanford University, now living in Texas.

I arrived in Woonsocket, Rhode Island, the United States of America on November 7, 1979. I was 8 years old. From the airport, we took a bus to our new residence after more than a year of moving around. We stopped in front of a townhouse on Hope Street in that little town. It took me more than 10 years to realize how perfect that street name fit my situation at the time. But for a child of 8, the only thing I could think about was the absolute newness of my home. The house. The streets. The many cars. Especially given the effect of freshly fallen snow, which I had never before seen. I remember falling asleep as soon as I got to our new house, and waking up at 5 or 6 in the morning (jet lag, I later found out) and peering at the sky out the window. Even the sky was entirely different, glowing with a deep uniform morning blue.

My journey to the United States started on a summer day in mid-1978 in Vietnam. My parents brought my brothers and sister to a small town close to the sea. We stayed there close to 2 months, what seemed like a whole year for me, having nothing to do. I used to just stare at the sea and look at the ships that passed.

Then one day, my parents kept us awake late into the night. All our belongings had been packed during the day. My parents started dividing the various backpacks for all of us to carry; we each had our bags, with my big brother and I carrying the heavier bags and my sister carrying the lighter ones. My little brother was only 2 at the time and required my mother to carry him. We then left the house for a small boat, where more than a hundred people were waiting to board. It didn't take very long for everyone to board even though it looked as if there was really no way so many people could fit into so small a boat. It turned out that our family of 6 was allotted a space of approximately 6x6 feet square.

As soon as all the people were on board, the boat departed immediately. In all this time, I didn't really ask my parents where we were going. At daybreak, some people started to climb onto the deck. I had to because I was getting sick from the rocking. Land was just a brown sliver on the horizon. The first part of the day was uneventful but towards the end of the day, people noticed that a ship from behind was approaching fairly rapidly. Our boat suddenly gained speed. I remember seeing the smoke come out of the rear because of the effort of the engine. But our efforts were futile. The ship eventually caught up and boarded our boat. As many of the people expected, they turned out to be pirates!

My father, suspecting that the pirate ship would inevitably board, started searching for a hiding place for our valuables. He found a knot in the wood of the hull where we could stuff a few of the sentimental jewels. We couldn't fit everything in there even if we wanted to and to do so would arouse suspicion from the pirates. Usually people escaping from Vietnam carried some form of money. This fortuitous circumstance would prove valuable later on.

Eventually, the pirates were satisfied and reboarded their ship. It was two more days before we spotted land. The leaders on our ship were cautious about revealing our location or identity and waited until nighttime before sending several people on a small rowboat to shore. Land turned out to be one of the islands of Malaysia. The people on the boat contributed what was left of anything valuable as a payment to the Malaysian government to lodge us for a time until we could decide on the next course of action. Apparently, the Malaysian government accepted and the next day, our boat was towed to a dock. Waiting for us at the dock when we arrived was the Red Crescent, the East Asian form of the Red Cross. It was the first time I

had ever seen a blond-haired, blue-eyed woman.

We were lodged in some tents in Malaysia on the same beach we spotted when we first arrived for two months. My father had to walk 5 miles a day to fill a plastic tank with fresh water so we could cook rice. Each night, the men stood watch over the camp ground to make sure nothing happened to the woman and children. My brother and I passed the time by catching fish in the small tidepools. The fish were always very small—too small to eat—and we always released the fish we caught at the end of the day. It became a game for us to see who could catch the most fish during the twilight hours of the day since the afternoon was much too hot.

One day, a small boat from presumably the Red Crescent sent us to a refugee island. This island was to be our home for the next 8 months. Here, we met everyone that had tried to escape Vietnam in the same way we tried, all ending up on the same island. We saw our grandmother and three of our uncles, who had tried several months before us. My father met friends he hadn't seen in years and business acquaintances he associated with regularly. Here, the jewels my father hid in the knot hole in the hull of the ship served to lodge us and feed us for the next few months. My mother's diamond ring bought us a beat-up tent for a home. Several gifts that were given to my brother and I during our birth bought us food for several weeks.

On this island, a simple barter economy had developed. After a few days, my father decided he would go to the hills and chop wood for firewood that he could sell. Together with what money we had left, his work supported us for the remainder of our stay on the island. My brother and I tried to help with the fetching of wood but we were too young to be of any use. Eventually my brother and I decided to explore old ship wrecks for anything valuable. Even though most of the ships had already been ransacked, my brother and I eventually found that the latex/rubber used to patch various leaks on ships could be reused to patch pails and other leaky plastic containers. Most of our efforts were mainly for exploration and to keep out of our mother's hair for a while. We used to spend hours peering at the sea and the ships that passed by, guessing where they were going and drawing their shapes in the sand.

Upon arriving on this island, refugees had to apply to various countries for immigration specifying the priority. Daily, loudspeakers located regularly around the island would announce the fortunate few who had been accepted by the country they applied for and therefore would be leaving soon. Every morning and evening, the loudspeaker would announce the lucky ones. One day, my father's name was announced, earlier than usual. Most of the people we know on the island came before us and were still on the refugee island when we left. And of all the countries that could be applied to, the United States must have been one of the more difficult ones to gain entrance. We got our first choice. In retrospect, it perhaps had to do with my father's involvement in the war. For whatever reason, we were on our way to a place we only heard descriptions about.

A big black ship took us to either Singapore or another area of Malaysia. A bus took us to a temporary quarantine area where we were examined for our health and inoculated. For two months, we stayed in a barrack-like complex that housed close to 100 people. Life was much more tolerable. Twice a day, everyone, including my brother and I, stood in line to receive rice, meat and vegetables. Here, I tasted my first ice cream cone.

After we passed all the exams, a bus took us to an airport. We boarded the airplane in awe and joy, for this really signified the last leg of our journey from Vietnam. We took the long way around, stopping in India, Egypt, one night in London, eventually arriving in New York City. Throwing up the entire trip because of motion sickness, I remained at best half conscious, dimly aware of take-offs and landings. When we finally arrived in the United States, our guide led us to various locations and finally to a hotel to spend the night.

One of those locations was a supermarket, where our guide left us for a while

to buy food. My brother and I started to complain that we were hungry for I had just gotten over motion sickness and sharply felt the emptiness in my stomach. Knowing no English and not having any agenda, my father, as with most of the people with us, thought that our journey had finally come to an end. He had five American dollars in his pocket and was about to enter a food store when our guide suddenly appeared. Apparently, he was negotiating with the store manager to buy food on credit. We stayed a night in the hotel and were flown the next morning to Rhode Island. From the airport, we took a small shuttle to our new home on Hope Street, finally signifying an end to a journey that lasted a full year and a half.

Group Task

After reading the story written by Truc Truong, prepare a five-minute role play of some of his experiences as a refugee. Specifically focus attention on his interpersonal and intercultural experiences.

PERSONAL STORY #6

The following poem was written by a former North Vietnamese citizen who now lives in San Jose, California. The poem was translated from Vietnamese to English. When he left Vietnam, he carried with him the "Song of Reunification."

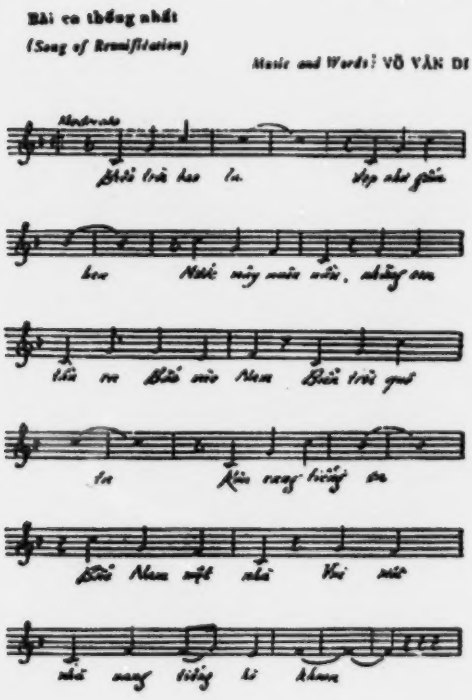
Reunification

Decades of occupation

French, Japanese, Americans
colonization
hunger
inequity
division of my country
families divided

My family felt it all
With reunification
Sun rays of hope

Someday I will return
I will reunify
with the land of my birth

Until then
I will continue to sing and dream
the "Song of Reunification"

He translated the meaning of the lyrics as follows:
The sea and the sky extend like an immense embroidery of velvet with thousands of colorful reflections. Ships ply between the north and south. Songs are heard from everywhere. Happiness of new meetings in peace. The wooded mountains are lit by the sun's rays. An icy winter has ended. Friend, sing of the return of spring and freedom.

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Group Task

After reading the poem, discuss the writer's perspective of the French, Japanese, and Americans. What significance does he attach to the term "reunification"? What is your reaction to the lyrics of the "Song of Reunification"? Write song lyrics that capture your feelings as you read the poem "Reunification" and the lyrics of the "Song of Reunification."

PERSONAL STORY #7

The following story was written by a Vietnamese woman who lives in San Jose, California. She was seven years old when Saigon fell to North Vietnam in 1975. She recalls a story of a stamp issued by North Vietnam around 1963 that was told to her by her father.

The Stamp

As a young girl in the early 1970s, I remember the Americans who used to be in Saigon (now Ho Chi Minh City). My father told me that they were our friends and that the Viet Cong guerrillas and the North Vietnamese were our enemies. I remember my father showing me a stamp issued by North Vietnam commemorating the Viet Cong triumph at Ap Bac on January 3, 1963, when five U.S. helicopters were shot down.

My father died in a "re-education" camp in 1978. A year later, my mother, brothers, and I fled Vietnam as refugees to Thailand. We didn't bring anything with us. We would have tried to escape earlier but we were waiting for my father to return from the camp. We eventually ended up in Texas and moved to San Jose, California about six years ago. One of the largest Vietnamese communities outside of Vietnam is here. Not too long ago, I saw the same stamp at an antique and collectibles show in San Mateo, California. I spoke with the dealer selling the stamp and he told me that the stamp is a collector's item now because so few copies exist in the West. He also told me that when the stamp was issued, there was a lot of controversy surrounding American stamp collectors purchasing the stamp. Some collectors felt that purchasing the stamp would be a contribution to the anti-American propaganda coming out of North Vietnam.

After a long discussion with the dealer, I told him about my father and about the fact that he showed me the stamp in Saigon when I was a little girl. I remember the stamp as having a strong negative impact towards my feelings towards North Vietnam.

I eventually bought the stamp from the dealer. I still fight back tears when I look at the stamp, but the tears are more for my father who fought so very hard against the North. He is no longer with me and I plan to show my children and grandchildren the image on this stamp as a remembrance of what he fought against his entire life.

The stamp inscription says "Front of Liberation of People in South Vietnam—Victory at Ap Bac."

Group Task

After reading the story, discuss the conflicts the writer felt in Vietnam and in the United States. What images have you seen on U.S. or other countries' stamps? What are some common images on stamps? What is your reaction to the stamp from North Vietnam? Design a U.S. stamp that commemorates the Vietnam War and the refugee experience.

VIETNAM AND JAPAN

The first Japanese to be mentioned in historical records as having been in Vietnam was Abe No Nakamaro, who adopted a Chinese name (Chao Heng or Ch'ao Heng) and served there in the 760s as Chinese governor-general. It was not until the 16th and early 17th centuries, however, that trade between Japan and Vietnam developed and Japanese traders formed Nihonmachi (Japanese quarters) in Hoi An and Da Nang. Relations were severed in the 17th century with the adoption of the National Seclusion policy by the Tokugawa shogunate (1603–1867).

Reestablishment of Contact—When Japan entered the Meiji Period (1868–1912), most of Southeast Asia was being colonized, and the French conquered Vietnam during the Sino–French War (1884–85). Some Vietnamese nationalists came to Japan to seek support for their anticolonial struggle, but Japanese leaders were more concerned with maintaining good relations with the French colonists, and in 1907 the Japanese and French governments signed a treaty in which each promised to respect the other's sphere of influence in East Asia. This obliged the Tokyo government to suppress the Vietnamese nationalists in Japan and to expel Phan Boi Chau and Cuong De from Japan in 1909.

The outbreak of World War II brought a new era in relations between Japan and Indochina. In September 1940, following the French surrender in Europe, the governor-general of French Indochina appointed by the Vichy government agreed to the stationing of 30,000 Japanese troops in Indochina, making Indochina one of Japan's most strategically important bases of operation in Southeast Asia during World War II. In March 1945 the Japanese ousted the French administration and allowed Emperor Bao Dai to declare Vietnam's independence and form a puppet cabinet under Japanese control. Once the Japanese occupation ended, the Bao Dai government failed to win popular support and abdicated power to the nationalist Viet Minh.

Postwar Relations—In 1951 Japan signed a peace treaty at San Francisco with the French-backed Saigon government in the south but did not recognize the revolutionary Hanoi government led by Ho Chi Minh in the north. In 1959 Japan concluded a war reparations agreement with the Saigon government. From the mid-1960s the Japanese economy benefited from U.S. military activity in Vietnam, and the Japanese government officially supported American policy; nevertheless, antiwar movements flourished among Japanese citizens and Vietnamese students in Japan.

After the U.S.–China rapprochement in 1971–72 and the conclusion of the Paris Peace Accord in early 1973, the Japanese government took a serious interest in the normalization of diplomatic relations with Hanoi. The Tokyo and Hanoi governments signed an agreement in September 1973, but embassies were not actually opened until the end of the Vietnam War. After the fall of Saigon in April 1975, Tokyo attempted to develop better relations with postwar Vietnam, and in October 1975 signed an economic aid agreement.

At that time Japan anticipated a rapid expansion of economic relations with Vietnam, which needed Japanese cooperation for its postwar recovery and future development. However, Japan joined China and the ASEAN countries* in opposing the Vietnamese occupation of Cambodia in January 1979. Japan suspended its promised economic aid, and overall relations with Vietnam deteriorated.

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* ASEAN—Association of Southeast Asian Nations. ASEAN was founded in August 1967 by Thailand, Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, and Singapore and was joined in 1984 by Brunei. In July 1995, Vietnam became ASEAN's newest member.

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In the meantime the outflow of Vietnamese boat people became a matter of international concern. Japan was finally obliged to remove its barriers against refugees and in 1981 ratified the 1951 international Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees. Japan, however, has been criticized for not accepting greater numbers of Indochinese refugees.

The Japanese business community has in recent years become increasingly interested in Vietnam, especially since the latter began in 1988 to actively encourage foreign investment. The future prospects for improved relations between Japan and Vietnam, however, depend on the resolution of the Cambodian conflict.

Source: "Vietnam and Japan," *Japan: An Illustrated Encyclopedia,* Volume 2 (Tokyo: Kodansha Ltd. 1993). p. 1674.

handout #3

MAKING THE NEWS IN JAPAN: JAPANESE POLICY TOWARD REFUGEES

The following two articles discuss official Japanese policy toward refugees. In the first of these, the government decided to end any special treatment for Vietnamese boat people. Some months later, the government suspended its policy of placing an official ceiling on the number of Vietnamese immigrants Japan would accept.

"Government to End Special Treatment for Vietnamese Boat People"

by Fumito Chiba

The Daily Yomiuri

March 5, 1994

The government will stop granting special consideration to Vietnamese boat people, beginning with those arriving from this Saturday, and treat them like asylum-seekers from any other country, government officials said Friday. Approved at a Friday Cabinet meeting, the new measure was drafted in accordance with an agreement reached in mid-February at a international meeting on Indochinese refugees.

There has been a decline recently in the number of people fleeing Vietnam by boat. Previously, the government gave a provisional landing permit to all Vietnamese boat people and then screened them to determine whether they were genuine refugees—people fleeing persecution for political or religious reasons—or just illegal migrants seeking a better economic life.

Now, however, all boat people arriving in Japan from this Saturday will be regarded as illegal migrants and sent to detention centers for eventual deportation, said officials at the justice and foreign ministries.

They will be given refugee status only if they apply for it and are clearly defined as such under international and national law, they said.

The approximately 400 Vietnamese who are still in a detention center after failing the screening for refugee status should also be urged to return home by the end of 1995, the target date set by the U.N.-chaired February meeting, a Justice Ministry official said. These 400 people include about 160 who escaped from Hong Kong camps in 1991 as well as children born in Japan, he said.

Although the government will try to return the remaining boat people under an international voluntary repatriation program, it may also reach an agreement with Vietnam to return boat people who do not volunteer but would not object if repatriated, the officials said. Indonesia and Hong Kong have already reached similar agreements for the "orderly return" of Vietnamese boat people in their countries, they said.

Since screening began in September 1989, 1,226 Vietnamese boat people have come to Japan, of whom between 450 and 500 voluntarily returned home, the Justice Ministry official said.

Of the 1,226, excluding the 362 who escaped from Hong Kong camps, 139 have been given refugee status, 400 have been rejected and 231 are still waiting for screening or for their results, he said.

Of the 777 people who fled Vietnam by boat in 1993, 638 came to Japan, but only two of this number have been given refugee

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status. More than 300 have been denied, the official said.

Many of them are from Haiphong, a northern Vietnamese city, and are believed to have been drawn to Japan by false rumors that Japan will extend refugee status to any Vietnamese boat person. Some have also heard, erroneously, that the Japanese government will give them $2,000–$4,000 if and when they are repatriated, the official said.

"Japan to Drop Limit on Indochinese Refugees"

The Daily Yomiuri

December 5, 1994

Japan will scrap its ceiling on the acceptance of Indochinese refugees for permanent settlement next year. The policy, decided at a Vice Ministerial meeting on Monday, will be formalized at a cabinet meeting Tuesday. Japan has been accepting refugees from Vietnam and other Indochinese nations since 1979.

The cumulative ceiling on the number of Indochinese refugees was doubled in 1985 and currently stands at 10,000. Indochinese settlers in Japan totaled 9,601 as of the end of October and are expected to exceed 10,000 in 1995. But the Prime Minister's office, the Foreign Ministry, the Justice Ministry and other government bodies in discussions judged the number is unlikely to surge due to a decline in Indochinese refugees. The number of Indochinese settlers will level off at around 11,000, a government official said. Japan's screening procedures on refugees from the area will remain unchanged.

Group Task

Discuss some of the changes in the Japanese government's policy toward refugees from Vietnam. Read the newspaper articles contained in Handout #4, Making the News in Japan: Stories of Refugees. Choose one of the articles and write a letter to the editor, keeping in mind the Japanese government's policy toward refugees from Vietnam.

handout #4

MAKING THE NEWS IN JAPAN: STORIES OF REFUGEES

Making refugees feel accepted in Japanese society has not always been easy. The following reports, excerpted from the pages of newspapers published in Japan, speak of these difficulties, and the efforts of some ordinary Japanese citizens to make life for these refugees easier. The first story tells of the obstacles that Vietnamese face in Japan. The second talks about the way in which a group of high school students got together to publish a Vietnamese–Japanese picture book, hoping to build bridges between Japanese and Vietnamese, and between residents and their children, who are becoming increasingly alienated from their mother tongue and cultural heritage. The third story is that of a retired businessman, and his efforts to help the Vietnamese community in Japan.

"Refugees Still Get Cold Shoulder"

by Sadao Ogura

The Daily Yomiuri

August 18, 1992

In 1978 the government accepted its first three Indochinese refugees or "boat people" for settlement in Japan. Today their numbers are said to reach about 8,000 but many of them, and their children, still experience discrimination, in particular at school.

Despite having an intense motivation to study hard, they are sometimes told by Japanese, "Realize it, you are a refugee," "You should work rather than study" and "Act like a refugee," lamented members of the Association to Aid the Refugees, a non-governmental organization.

Formed in 1979, the association is chaired by Yukika Soma. Originally called the Association to Aid Indochinese Refugees, the group took on its current name in 1984.

Soma, 80, once described her purpose in founding the association as "to aid refugees, as that is the starting point for Japan's internationalization and participation in the international community." Soma's father was Yukio Ozaki, a prestigious politician called the "god of constitutional democracy" in the prewar era.

The association has offered scholarships to refugee students from Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos and Iran in the past 10 years. So far 823 refugees, or more than 10 percent of those who have settled in Japan, have received such scholarships. A total of 230 million yen has been paid from the scholarship fund, which is supported by donations from the association's 2,000 members.

It is true that one reason the association has been able to engage in such a large-scale activity is that Japanese have gained a greater understanding of refugees and their problems. However, Japan's "closed society" has not changed drastically, members said. For example, the association's counselors, who have helped refugees for five years, find the same problems cropping up time and again.

In a recent case in Kanagawa-ken, a high school teacher tried to persuade a refugee student not to apply for a university exam saying, "Consider your position as a refugee."

The counselors added that it is common practice for companies to reject such students at the earliest stage of screening when they find out that applicants are refugees.

A refugee student in Tokyo said a company official had told him, "If you weren't a refugee, you could enter our company. But..."

The association's chief secretary, Tadamasa Fukiura, said, "Japanese law

guarantees refugees the same rights as those of Japanese nationals in terms of elementary school education, national pension and protection of livelihood. The law guarantees that refugees can enjoy the same status as other foreign residents in terms of secondary and higher education." He has visited many regions in the world that are sources of refugees and has contributed to the development of Japan's refugee policy.

Eiko Sagara, an association counselor, said, "After all, such reactions of Japanese people are based on the idea that 'Why should we help foreigners while we ourselves have problems in our lives? And if we do help them, Japan will have to accept more and more refugees in the future.'"

Aren't these the same arguments heard 10 years ago?

Furthermore, refugee students are often considered strange by Japanese simply because they study hard.

One male refugee student, attending a prep school while working part-time in Tokyo, said Japanese often ask him, "Why do you have to study so hard?" He fled Vietnam, leaving family behind, because he had not been allowed to enter university there as his father had served in the South Vietnamese military. Thus his family encouraged him to leave, saying, "Study hard overseas."

According to refugees from Vietnam, whether or not a student is allowed to enter university depends on his or her parents' political position, regardless of the student's academic record. Top priority is given to sons and daughters of high-ranking Communist Party members and then to those of high-ranking government officials.

If a student's family had ties with the former South Vietnam government, it is extremely difficult for the student to enter any university in the country.

One Vietnamese refugee described it as being denied the "freedom to study." In late July the association held a training camp in Marumorimachi, Miyagi-ken, where 43 high school and university students gathered together.

Asked about the future, only four said they did not want to return home. The rest said they would go back someday, though some added that they would do so only if dictatorial one-party rule in their countries were abolished.

When asked about their impressions of the Japanese, the views of refugee students tended to divide sharply into two camps. Some said the Japanese are hard workers and kind to others, while others said they discriminate against refugees.

Asked why they studied so hard, the students said they wished to be able to contribute to their countries.

Refugee students in earlier days studied hard and concentrated on obtaining job skills. Later they pursued academic freedom like their Japanese counterparts did.

Recently, Fukiura said, some refugee students have tended to develop advanced Japanese language skills at the expense of their own language, resulting in poor communication with their parents.

"But if they can take the fruits of their experience in Japan back home, they will serve as great bridge-builders between Japan and their countries," Fukiura said.

"Picture Book to Bridge Language Gap: Bilingual Publication Aimed at Vietnamese Parents, Children"

The Daily Yomiuri

June 17, 1995

A group of high school students in Kanagawa Prefecture has published a Vietnamese–Japanese picture book in the hope that it will serve as a bridge between Vietnamese residents and their children, who are becoming increasingly alienated from their mother tongue and cultural heritage.

The book about a Vietnamese folktale, with colorful pictures that follow the style of the traditional Vietnamese woodcut print, is the product of three years' work by the Kanagawa Prefectural Tama High School's extracurricular group, "the Japanese language volunteer circle." The group's activities include teaching Japanese to children from Vietnam and other Indochinese nations.

Kanagawa Prefecture is home to more Vietnamese than any other prefecture, with about 1,100 Vietnamese settling in the prefecture with "refugee" status. Currently about 7,200 Vietnamese with "refugee" status live in Japan, according to Dang Tan Phat, a Vietnamese national, who provided the story and helped the group with the Vietnamese language.

"One of the biggest problems facing the Vietnamese families is a widening communication gap between parents and their children," Phat, who has been busy over the past 15 years helping his fellow countrymen settle in Japan, said at a recent gathering to celebrate the publication of the book.

Young people are quick to master Japanese, while their parents often have difficulty learning the language, meaning that they have a problem communicating, according to Phat.

The group became aware of the situation when it started helping children from Indochinese nations learn Japanese in 1991, according to Hiroshi Kazamaki, a teacher at the high school and adviser to the group. Some parents asked the group to help discipline their children, because their Japanese was too poor to discuss delicate matters with their children, whose Vietnamese remained rudimentary. "And we realized that both parents and children were too busy trying to become bilingual," Kazamaki said.

However, it is not only a communication gap but also an identity crisis that some children suffer, according to Phat. Because of a fraying bond with the language and cultural heritage, they do not know whether they are Vietnamese or Japanese. Such uncertainty about one's own roots tends to bring shame when a child encounters various forms of pressure from mainstream society. "Pressure to assimilate is very strong in Japan, but at the same time many Japanese still have a strong sense of 'us' and 'others,'" Phat said.

Aware that children are encountering psychological difficulties, some students started to search for a way to boost their confidence in their cultural heritage by exposing them to Vietnamese culture more often.

Phat believes many Vietnamese parents suffer a double burden in handing down their cultural heritage to their offspring—living in a foreign land and being a "lost generation" themselves in a series of wars in their homeland.

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"It is not only visible cultural objects such as old temples and castles but also people's minds that were crippled by the war. During the war, people had no time to look into their own culture," Phat said.

The book about a Vietnamese folktale finally started to take shape after Kazamaki and Phat met at a meeting in 1992.

"One of the difficulties in producing the book was that the pictures should comply with traditional Vietnamese things such as clothes, food and people's manners," said Mio Naritomi, a former member of the group, who produced the pictures using a paper-cutting technique. To help Naritomi, other members of the circle did extensive research on Vietnamese culture, history and customs.

Naritomi, currently a third-year student of the Tokyo National University of Fine Arts and Music, spent one year to complete about 20 pictures in the book.

"I want Japanese, particularly children, to read the book and realize that people from other nations have their own cultures and that they should learn to respect that fact," Naritomi said.

Apparently production of the book provided the students an opportunity to reflect on their own future.

"The experience (of producing the book) opened my eyes to outside school. It made me realize there was a way to connect myself to society other than simply heading to a good university and company," one student noted.

"Ex-Businessman Finds New Life"

by Yuji Sasaki

The Daily Yomiuri

May 23, 1994

On a Saturday night, a 22-year-old Vietnamese refugee sits facing a Japanese man in a large, quiet room located in a towering apartment building in Shinagawa-ku, Tokyo. He repeats the same phrase over and over. "What is it?" Minoru Wada asks, pointing at a Japanese textbook.

"That's a painter," answers Nguyen Hoang Dung, a refugee from Vietnam who works for a cardboard manufacturer. He started studying Japanese with Wada because he had few opportunities at work to improve his language skills, a vital requirement for finding a better job.

Wada, 69, is one of the team of experienced volunteer language teachers at Taiyo (Japanese word for "sun"), a private school where refugees can study Japanese for free for one year. Wada and Nguyen spend 120 minutes working together every Saturday night.

Headed by Yukika Soma, Taiyo is an arm of the Association to Aid Refugees, a Tokyo-based non-governmental organization. Taiyo was begun about 10 years ago for refugees who lacked the money to attend a language school but still wanted to learn Japanese to find a job, according to an AAR official.

Currently about 70 Japanese are engaged in teaching 70 refugees and foreigners who have applied to the government for refugee status, and members of their families. Most are from Indochina. The most popular times for the one-on-one classes are weekends and nights, the official said.

In his work with the Nippon Fire & Marine Insurance Co., Wada had extensive contacts with European and U.S. businessmen posted in Japan for two or three years.

"When they talked with me, it was always in English—not Japanese," he said. Wada always recommended that they master as much Japanese as possible, even if it was only greetings, during their stay in Japan.

As his retirement neared, Wada began wondering what he would do with all his free time.

"When I was about 59 or 60 years old, I began to think about how I should lead my life after retiring," he said.

Wada stopped going out for drinks after work and instead devoted more than 1,000 hours during a year and a half to learning how to teach Japanese—including linguistics, pronunciation, grammar and history—through a Japanese-language teacher training program and a correspondence course.

About nine years ago, he happened to spot an AAR advertisement in a newspaper inviting volunteers to teach Japanese and thought it was a way to make the most of his experience.

In explaining his motivations, Wada said one factor was that he had joined the Imperial Japanese Army during the Pacific War. Although he did not go to the front, he still felt an obligation to the people of Indochina—and sought their forgiveness—as Japanese forces had occupied it.

Currently, he teaches refugees at Taiyo as well as European and American business people and their families at his home for a total of eight hours a week. "Many of the Americans and Europeans I teach are well educated, so I have to study myself," he said.

When teaching refugees, he does not strictly focus on language but also gets involved in their lives. For instance, Wada

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served as go-between at the wedding of one of the women he teaches.

"Up until about 10 years ago, many refugees experienced difficulties. But now, having settled down in Japan, they are finding jobs with relative ease despite the recession. Also, many support systems have improved," he said.

"The language barrier is the biggest one for them. I want to continue teaching as the second phase of my life's work," he said.

Lesson 2

VIETNAM'S POLITICS IN TRANSITION

CREATING INTEREST IN THE NEWS

Organizing Questions

- What were some key events following the fall of Saigon in 1975?
- How has the transition in Vietnam's politics affected various groups of people in Vietnam?

Introduction

Since South and North Vietnam were officially unified as the Socialist Republic of Vietnam in 1976, Vietnam's political situation has been in a state of transition. How the communist party-state can liberalize its economic system without weakening the dictatorship of the Party is a central question facing the government of Vietnam. Students will be introduced to Vietnam's politics in transition through a series of small group activities. Each small group activity examines the impact that Vietnam's politics in transition has had on certain groups of people, and incorporates actual news events reported from the mid-1970s to 1996 concerning Vietnam's politics.

Objectives

knowledge

- to learn about Vietnam's contemporary politics
- to understand various experiences of different groups of people in Vietnamese society
- to consider ways in which domestic politics influence policies with other countries

attitude

- to appreciate the historical conditions that set the stage for political events and processes
- to develop the ability to see events from different points of view
- to understand the complexities of domestic and international policymaking

skill

- to listen effectively and critically to various points of view
- to stage performances in which students play roles; to write editorials, letters to the editor, or articles; and to design political cartoons

lesson two

Materials

- News Brief: Setting the Historical Context, one copy
- Scenario #1: The People in Re-education Camps, one copy
- Scenario #2: Writers and Artists, one copy
- Scenario #3: Ethnic Chinese, one copy
- Scenario #4: Intellectuals, one copy
- Scenario #5: Religious Followers, one copy
- Scenario #6: Minorities, one copy
- Scenario #7: Women, one copy
- Scenario #8: Students, one copy
- Scenario #9: Farmers, one copy

The small group activities in this lesson draw primarily upon article excerpts from the *Far Eastern Economic Review*, published in Hong Kong, and from various publications from Vietnam. The *Far Eastern Economic Review* has a bureau in Hanoi, and the writers often incorporate perspectives of Vietnamese living in Vietnam. Very few U.S. newspapers and magazines have bureaus in Vietnam, and access to English articles from contemporary Vietnamese publications are scarce. The nine scenarios selected represent the experiences of nine groups of people whose experiences appeared often in the news. Obviously, these scenarios don't represent the experiences of all Vietnamese, and this is important to point out to students.

Procedure

1. Select a student news reporter to read the News Brief, which helps set the historical context for the study of Vietnam's politics in transition. You may want to provide each student with a copy of this for reference.
2. Following the News Brief, provide the students with the following information written by Professor James W. Morley, Columbia University, who is a leading authority on Vietnam.

> Following the unification of the country in October 1976, the Vietnamese leadership looked forward at last to achieving its dream—the transition to prosperity that had been socialism's promise. But it was frustrated, first, by the disastrous effects of the attempt to collectivize the South, and then by the renewed demands of war, this time with Cambodia.
>
> With its ASEAN neighbors growing by leaps and bounds, the need for fundamental rethinking became apparent. After several experiments with liberalization, a thoroughgoing reform policy, called *doi-moi*, was inaugurated in 1986.
>
> *Doi-moi* represents a basic change from the economic policy of the past. It reduces the role of the state in the economy, respects the market, favors private enterprise, and welcomes

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global traders and investors. (Morley, James M. "The Vietnam Opportunity: American and Japanese Perspectives," *Forum*, a Newsletter of the United States–Japan Foundation, Vol. 10, No. 4, Summer 1995)

Mention to students that *doi-moi* will be explored in depth in Lesson 3, Vietnam's Economy in Transition. Lesson 2 explores stories that made the news after the inauguration of this reform policy in 1986. The stories have been selected from various years up to the present and represent the experiences and perspectives of various groups of people. Students are asked to examine the transition of Vietnam's politics and its impact on these groups.

3. Divide the class into 9 small groups and distribute one of the Scenarios #1–9 to each group. Allow groups 30 minutes to read and analyze the information provided and to develop the group task.

4. Have each group of students present their group tasks, starting with Scenario #1. Encourage discussion following each presentation.

Assessment

In this lesson, students engaged in activities through multiple intelligences. Keep this in mind when assessing student outcomes.

- For Scenarios #1, #2, #3, #6, #7, and #8, consider the students' ability to synthesize information from the articles and focus on key concepts and/or ideas, the appropriateness of the role play or radio/television broadcast format, and time management, as well as the students' general understanding of multiple perspectives in your assessment.
- For Scenario #4, you may want to consider whether the letter to the editor has a clear focus and an adequate number of key concepts, details, and examples, as well as the students' general understanding of the specific experiences of intellectuals.
- For Scenario #5, you may want to consider craftsmanship, visual or sensory imagery, language use, and cohesive themes, as well as the students' general understanding of the specific experiences of religious followers in your assessment of the poems.
- For Scenario #9, you may want to consider craftsmanship, appropriate detail, themes, and symbolic meaning, as well as the students' general understanding of multiple perspectives in your assessment of the political cartoons.

Policy Study Reference

Morley, James, "Politics in Transition," in Morley, James W. and Masashi Nishihara, editors. *Vietnam Joins the World*. New York: M.E. Sharpe. 1996.

SETTING THE HISTORICAL CONTEXT

In 1975, Saigon fell to the North Vietnamese. At the end of the war, there were 1,921,000 Vietnamese dead, 58,135 Americans dead, 200,000 Vietnamese missing in action, 1,876 Americans missing in action, 3,200,000 Indochinese wounded, 303,616 Americans wounded, 300,000 Vietnamese orphans, and 14,305,000 Indochinese refugees.

In 1975, Pol Pot's Khmer Rouge captured Cambodia.

In 1976, Jimmy Carter was elected President of the United States. North and South Vietnam officially unified as the Socialist Republic of Vietnam. The United States imposed a trade embargo with Vietnam.

In 1977, normalization talks between the United States and Vietnam began in Paris. The Khmer Rouge attacked Vietnamese villages, killing hundreds of civilians, and the genocide by the Khmer Rouge continued in Cambodia.

In 1979, the Khmer Rouge was driven from power by the Vietnamese, and China invaded Vietnam to punish it for the invasion of Cambodia. The U.S. trade embargo against Vietnam was extended to all forms of aid.

In 1986, the 6th congress of the Vietnamese Communist Party decided to replace Soviet-style central planning with a market economy that encouraged private business and foreign investment. The reform policy was called *doi moi*.

In 1988, U.S. and Vietnamese officials cooperated in helping to locate the remains of American soldiers missing in action (MIA).

In 1989, Vietnam withdrew all of its troops from Cambodia.

In 1990, U.S. and Vietnamese officials met in Washington, D.C. to discuss the continued U.S. trade embargo, which the United States linked to the MIA issue and a satisfactory political settlement in Cambodia.

In 1994, the United States lifted its trade embargo with Vietnam.

In 1995, President Clinton announced the establishment of full diplomatic relations with Vietnam.

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THE PEOPLE IN RE-EDUCATION CAMPS

In this activity, first read through the background information about re-education camps. The background information provides perspectives on re-education camps from both the United States and Vietnam. Following this, you will be asked to discuss a news article excerpt written by an American and a journal article excerpt written by a Vietnamese, and to engage in a group task.

Background information

Re-education Camps (a U.S. perspective)

According to Neil L. Jamieson, Senior Associate of the Indochina Institute at George Mason University, following the fall of Saigon in 1975, more than one million people in the Republic of Vietnam (South Vietnam), out of a population of a little over twenty million, were ordered to report for "re-education." Jamieson describes the experience as follows:

> According to the category to which they were assigned, they were instructed to bring along enough food and clothing to last for seven to thirty days. But there was little "education" awaiting these people, and very few would return home after thirty days. These were not "schools," as some tried to portray them, nor were they "prisons," as others claimed. They were psychological/spiritual "boot camps," places where human beings were to be literally "transformed," to be made over into "new people" whose beliefs and values and personalities would be better suited to the new socialist society being designed for them in Hanoi.
>
> For hundreds of thousands of intellectuals, religious leaders, politicians, people who had worked with or for the Americans, soldiers, and civil servants, "re-education" meant years of hard manual labor on starvation rations. Most who endured this would remember only an all-consuming and degrading hunger, maneuvering for a chance to drink the water their food had been cooked in, trying to catch birds and rats, scrambling to sneak a mouthful of wild berries on a work detail, wracking their brains for some means of obtaining any source of nourishment, however repulsive, to supplement their meager rations. Many died in these camps. Many more were broken there, either mentally or physically. (Jamieson, Neil L. *Understanding Vietnam*, Berkeley: University of California Press. 1993. pp. 363–364)

Re-education Camps (a Vietnamese perspective)

According to Hoang Son, re-education camps are described in the following way:

> Each camp possesses a library. Inmates can also listen to "Voice of Vietnam" broadcasts through a public address system.
>
> Then as their political awakening grows and they become more disposed to serve their country, science and technology courses are organized for them.

Apart from courses, productive labour constitutes a second essential means for re-education. This is absolutely necessary because, under the former regime, they represented the upper strata of society and got rich under U.S. patronage. They could but scorn the working people. Now the former social order has been turned upside down, and after they have finished their stay in camps they have to earn a living by their own labour and live in a society where work is held in honour. They should be prepared for this kind of life.

• • •

Some Western newspapers have mentioned cases of ill-treatment of detainees. To what extent does this occur?

There are, of course, individual cases of camp guards who become angered at the bad behaviour of some die-hard reactionary inmates and resort to violence against them. But those are isolated cases and if higher authorities are aware of them, the guilty guards are never let off the hook. Although the overall picture may sometimes present a negative aspect, the positive one always predominates.

• • •

A problem, however, continues to worry even friends of Vietnam: how will these re-education camps come to an end, and how long will their inmates still have to live there.

There will come a moment when the overwhelming majority of detainees will change completely as their re-education will have been completed. Everybody's wish is that this moment comes very soon. (Hoang Son, "Re-education Camps and Human Rights," in *Vietnam: Which Human Rights*, Hanoi: Vietnam Courier. 1980. pp. 97–101)

News article excerpt

"A Dragon Year Blessing: Hanoi Releases Thousands of Former Saigon Officials"

by Murray Hiebert in Hanoi

Far Eastern Economic Review

February 25, 19[illegible], pp. 22–23

Some of the highest ranking officials of the former U.S.-backed South Vietnamese government were released from the Nam Ha re-education camp on 13 February to spend the first Lunar New Year with their families in a dozen years.

The 161 prisoners released from Nam Ha, 100 km. south of Hanoi, included a former defense minister; 10 generals; 82 military and intelligence officers; as well as policemen, politicians and civil servants, and 25 military chaplains, all of whom had been held since the communist victory in 1975.

Hanoi announced on 11 February that 3,820 detainees from the former regime would be freed from various re-education camps throughout the country to mark the Lunar New Year.

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During a release ceremony at the Nam Ha camp, camp commandant Major Luu Van Hanh said the prisoners were freed because they had "shown remorse for their crimes" during the war.

• • •

Vietnamese party chief Nguyen Van Linh told a seminar for international journalists in January, at which he announced that the government had decided to free all remaining political detainees, that the released detainees would be allowed to emigrate. "We do not want to keep them in this country once they have decided they want to go," he said. Hanoi has faced international and domestic criticism for continuing to hold former officials in re-education camps.

Journal article excerpt

"What They Think About Their Thirteen Years in 'Re-education Camps'"

Vietnam Studies

Number 20, 1989, pp. 118–126

Hanoi

Taken prisoner on the battlefield, they all feared a bloodbath. For themselves they were expecting either the firing squad, a bullet in the head or, at least, torture and abuses.

• • •

They had good reasons to fear for themselves and for their families, having served foreign colonialists all their lives.

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Even so, what they feared had not come true. Of the more than one million men who had served in the Saigon army and the hundreds of thousands of civil servants who had worked in the Saigon administration only the most zealous, who formed a small number, were singled out for re-education. The rest were allowed to rejoin their families, many of them before the end of the third year. At first, there were 100,000 in the camps. By the time a release was decreed by the Chairman of the Council of Ministers on Feb. 11, 1988, on the occasion of Tet, only 159 remained...

• • •

Since many people in the West are apt to see education as a form of "imprisonment without trial" or "disguised forced labour," it would be interesting to know what the ex-prisoners themselves think about life in the camp.

It was to ex-Brigadier General Tran Van Cam that I put the question "What do you think about the thirteen years in the camp?"...

"I had reasons to believe that if I was to be taken by the revolution I would never be pardoned," Cam said. "That belief was shared by my mother and my wife. That's why

hardly two weeks after my capture at Tuy Hoa, my wife took a plane to the United States, taking all my nine children along. They now live in San Antonio, Texas. And these were my reasons: before the August Revolution in 1945, my father used to supervise the construction of public works at Tuy Hoa. After the revolution he retired to his home place at Quang Luong village, Trieu Phong district. I do not remember exactly what was happening, but he was killed by a cadre during a dispute. Moreover, I was General Ngo Quang Chuong's second-in-command during the Tet Offensive at Hue. Look at me now. My weight is 78 kilos, exactly as it was on my arrival at the camp. But I'm fitter now, having got rid of my paunch (it should be added that Cam had regularly received parcels from his family in the United States and had thus been able to fare better than most of his campmates). I can tell you that although my parents gave me my life it was the revolution that has given a new lease on that life."

For discussion:

1. How are the perspectives of Neil L. Jamieson and Hoang Son similar or different?

2. Based on these perspectives, what is your opinion of re-education camps?

3. Compare the manner in which the release of people in re-education camps is covered by the *Far Eastern Economic Review* and *Vietnam Studies*.

Group Task

Your task is to create a five-minute role play based on the various perspectives included in the excerpts you have just read. The format and emphasis are your choice, but you must present information about the impact the transition in Vietnam's politics has had on the people who spent time in re-education camps.

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WRITERS AND ARTISTS

In this activity, first read through the background information about writers and artists. The background information provides perspectives on the situation of writers and artists from both the United States and Vietnam. Following this, you will be asked to discuss excerpts that focus on writers and artists.

Background information

Writers and Artists (a U.S. perspective)

According to Neil L. Jamieson, Senior Associate of the Indochina Institute at George Mason University, following the fall of Saigon in 1975, "No group of people suffered more at the hands of the party than the writers and poets and journalists of the Republic of Vietnam. In April 1976 those literary artists who had not already fled the country or been arrested were rounded up in a series of swift raids..." (Jamieson, Neil L. *Understanding Vietnam*, Berkeley: University of California Press. 1993. p. 364)

Writers and Artists (a Vietnamese perspective)

According to Nguyen Khac Vien, author of *Glimpses of Vietnamese Literature*, "For those who know the bloody terror the Americans and their lackeys unleashed in South Vietnam immediately after the 1954 armistice and continued without interruption until its complete liberation in 1975, for those who know the hell in which the population lived in these dark years, it is not at all surprising that poets took part directly in the fighting, considering their poetry as a weapon. Poetry could no longer be a question of dreaming, of shutting oneself in one's ivory tower. Each day the massacres, killings and sweeps multiplied..." (Nguyen Khac Vien. *Glimpses of Vietnamese Literature*, Hanoi: Foreign Languages Publishing House. 1977. p. 175)

News article excerpt

"New Chapter Opens as Writers Reflect Reality"

Far Eastern Economic Review

September 8, 1988, p. 107

A "renovation" of the arts in Vietnam is allowing film-makers, novelists, playwrights and short-story writers to explore themes which would have landed them in trouble a few years ago. Artists are writing candidly about the country's continuing economic decline and the frustration it breeds in people towards their often incompetent and corrupt leaders. Writers

are now exploring new themes such as the tendency to glorify life in the military, the violence of the communist forces during the war against the U.S. and Vietnam's occupation of neighboring Cambodia.

"Writers are now being untied by the government," said Nguyen Huu, a novelist and writer of screenplays from Ho Chi Minh City, using an expression coined by Linh (former community party Secretary-General) at a meeting with Vietnamese intellectuals and artists late last year. "Writers now write on broader topics and with more enthusiasm," he added. Huu was arrested by the former government of South Vietnam for his anti-war writings, and then wound up spending a year in a "re-education camp" after the communist victory in 1975.

• • •

Despite the new literary openness, Hanoi appears to be still exercising some restraint. Asia Watch, the U.S.-based human rights group, has reported that five southern writers were sentenced to prison terms in April for their works and because they attempted to send and receive material from abroad. These writers were arrested and have been held since 1984.

However, many writers are exploring a wide range of new themes and styles, even if some restrictions remain. One of the most talked about novels in Vietnam today is *The Colonel Who Could Not Joke* by Le Luu, the first Hanoi writer to use fiction to criticize Vietnamese society. The book is about an officer who went mad after his only son, whom he had forced to join the army to serve his country and learn to be a good citizen, died accidentally in Cambodia following Vietnam's 1978 invasion.

Book excerpt

"A Note About the Author"
from *Paradise of the Blind*
a novel by Duong Thu Huong
1989, p. 267

In 1987, two years before this novel appeared, the Vietnamese Communist party called on writers and journalists to shake off the stiff, official Marxist style that had been imposed on them and encouraged them to reassert their traditional role as social critics. In this atmosphere of political openness and questioning, many Vietnamese writers and intellectuals responded with literary works, films, novels, and theatrical works that openly or implicitly criticized the excesses of the Party by satirizing bureaucracy, ideology, and official corruption.

Duong Thu Huong was one of the first writers to speak out. In her essays, short stories, and poems, but especially in her trilogy of novels, *Beyond Illusions*, *Fragments of Lost Life*, and *Paradise of the Blind*—all stories about the sorrows and disillusionment of average Vietnamese people—Duong denounced, in simple, direct language, the dehumanization of her country.

Honest and self-critical, at the time a veteran Communist party member herself, Duong was in a unique and unassailable position to criticize the regime.

For discussion:

1. How are the perspectives of Neil L. Jamieson and Nguyen Khac Vien similar or different?

2. According to the article excerpt from the *Far Eastern Economic Review* and the book excerpt from *Paradise of the Blind*, how has the situation of writers and artists changed?

3. What is your opinion of these changes?

Group Task

Your task is to create a five-minute radio broadcast based on the various perspectives included in the excerpts you have just read. The format and emphasis are your choice, but you must present information about the impact the transition in Vietnam's politics has had on the writers and artists in Vietnam.

scenario #3

ETHNIC CHINESE

In this activity, first read through the background information about ethnic Chinese in Vietnam. The background information provides perspectives on the situation of ethnic Chinese in Vietnam from both the United States and Vietnam. Following this, you will be asked to discuss and analyze article excerpts that focus on the experiences of the ethnic Chinese of Vietnam.

Background information

Ethnic Chinese (a U.S. perspective)

According to Neil L. Jamieson, Senior Associate of the Indochina Institute at George Mason University, following the fall of Saigon in 1975, "The new rulers were especially disturbed by the vigor of small-scale capitalism in the south. ... Not coincidentally, the ethnic Chinese were hit especially hard by these measures. Ethnic Chinese had fled in disproportionate numbers in the initial exodus of boat people in 1975 and 1976; by 1978 they began pouring out of the country in droves." (Jamieson, Neil L. *Understanding Vietnam*, Berkeley: University of California Press. 1993. p. 366)

Ethnic Chinese (a Vietnamese perspective)

According to a "Statement of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam on the Issue of Hoa (ethnic Chinese) People in Vietnam, June 5, 1978," the Government of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam declares that:

1. The Hoa people, who for decades now have lived in harmony with the Vietnamese people in the national community in Vietnam, sharing weal and woe, should stay in Vietnam without anxiety, lead normal lives and join the people in the while country in building socialism in Vietnam, and a happy and prosperous life for themselves.

2. The Hoa people in northern Vietnam, who have enjoyed the same rights and performed the same obligations as Vietnamese citizens, and the Vietnamese of Chinese origin in southern Vietnam who wish to leave Vietnam, will be allowed to do so by the Vietnamese authorities after they have complied with all the exit procedures.

3. Those Chinese residents in southern Vietnam who now wish to leave Vietnam must comply with the exit procedures in conformity with the laws and regulations of the Vietnamese Government. Those who want to stay on in Vietnam will be treated like all other foreign residents.

4. The Government of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam will allow Chinese ships to enter the ports designated by Vietnam to embark those Hoa people who want to leave Vietnam for China, after they have complied with all procedures in keeping with current Vietnamese laws and regulations concerning the entry of foreign ships into Vietnamese ports. The first Chinese ships will be allowed to enter Vietnamese ports as of June 20, 1978.

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("Statement of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam on the Issue of Hoa People in Vietnam, June 5, 1978," in *The Hoa in Vietnam*, Hanoi: Foreign Languages Publishing House: 1978. pp. 126–129)

News article excerpt

"Cheer in Cholon: Hanoi Eases Policy on its Ethnic Chinese"

by Murray Hiebert in Ho Chi Minh City

Far Eastern Economic Review

August 4, 1988

Hanoi appears to have taken steps during the past to end its discriminatory policies against Ho Chi Minh City's several hundred thousand ethnic Chinese, in an attempt to get their help in developing Vietnam's shattered economy. The new policy comes a decade after Hanoi closed down the businesses of ethnic Chinese, forcing many of them to choose between moving to remote "new economic zones" or fleeing the country as refugees.

Ethnic Chinese in Cholon, the city's Chinatown, say Hanoi began gradually softening its suspicions towards them several years ago. Then, in July 1987, several Cholon residents reported, Vietnamese Communist Party chief Nguyen Van Linh met with ethnic Chinese representatives in Ho Chi Minh City and informed them that they were to be "protected by the court of law," implying they would no longer face discriminatory policies."

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Chau Hong, 52, has seen both faces of Hanoi's policy. He was operating a textile mill, a knitting factory and several bakeries in Ho Chi Minh City on 24 March 1978, when Hanoi launched its "socialist transformation" campaign to seize control of private industry and trade in the former capitalist south, about half of which was controlled by ethnic Chinese. Policemen and youth volunteers closed Hong's factories and confiscated the goods.

• • •

...in 1981, he was contacted by Nguyen Thi Thi, who had permission to experiment with capitalist-style business techniques to operate what has become the highly successful Ho Chi Minh City Food Co. "Mrs. Thi encouraged me to reopen my bakery," Hong said. "She knew I had been ill-treated and provided me with materials to increase my production." Today Hong operates three bakeries in the city. "I feel quite safe to do business now," Hong said. "I don't fear that I'll be called a capitalist who exploits other people."

Not all ethnic Chinese in Cholon have had the same experience as Hong. Vuong Hong Vang, who runs a small plastic recycling factory in the city, said he avoided conflict with the Vietnamese Government by turning his private shop into a cooperative soon after the communists seized power.

scenario #3

News article excerpt

"Market Test: Cautious Re-emergence by Ethnic Chinese"

by Murray Hiebert in Ho Chi Minh City
Far Eastern Economic Review
August 1, 1991

The construction of the new five-story An Dong market in Cholon, the Chinatown of Ho Chi Minh City, may well symbolize the re-emergence of the ethnic Chinese as a powerful force in Vietnam's economy.

The new U.S.$5 million market marks the first sizable investment project in the city by a group of ethnic Chinese businessmen, who were forced out of business by the zealous communist party following its victory over the U.S.-backed capitalist South Vietnam in mid-1975.

"Five years ago, no capitalist would have dared to do this," says Pham Xuan Bien, an expert on Vietnam's ethnic Chinese at the city's Institute of Social Sciences. "Now you can see the ethnic Chinese daring to start something," he said. He attributes the changes to the party's 1986 decision to move towards a free market, which means allowing the ethnic Chinese a larger role in the country's economy.

City officials had planned to rebuild the deteriorating, overcrowded old market with investment from a Singapore company, but when these plans fell through some local *hoa*, or ethnic Chinese, businessmen stepped in. La Cong Nguyen, who resumed his business activities two years ago after losing three factories in 1975, called on his Chinese friends to help set up a shareholding company, the Viet-Hoa Construction Co., to build the new market.

"Our main goal is to support economic renovation," Nguyen says about the market, which is to be completed in October. "Through this investment, we want to send a message to the state. If it has correct policies and uses people well, we can do big development projects."

For discussion:

1. How does Neil L. Jamieson's perspective compare with the "Statement of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam on the Issue of Hoa People in Vietnam, June 5, 1978"?

2. According the articles from 1988 and 1991, how have the lives of Chau Hong and La Cong Nguyen changed?

3. What is your opinion about the situation facing ethnic Chinese in Vietnam?

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Group Task

Your task is to create a five-minute news broadcast for "Business News Around the World" for an international television network. The format and emphasis are your choice, but you must present information about the impact the transition in Vietnam's politics has had on the ethnic Chinese in Vietnam.

scenario #4

INTELLECTUALS

In this activity, first read through the background information about intellectuals in Vietnam. You will be asked to discuss and analyze two article excerpts, one from the *Far Eastern Economic Review* and the other from the *Vietnam Economic News*.

Background information

Intellectuals

According to Gareth Porter, Director, International Program, Environmental and Energy Study Institute, Washington, D.C., "Upon taking power in South Vietnam in 1975, the revolutionary government suspended almost all private publications and compiled a list of banned books including the complete works of fifty-six Southern (Vietnamese) authors. They also prohibited listening to radio broadcasts from capitalist countries and urged citizens to report those who listened to such broadcasts or spread news heard on them to authorities. 'Cultural army units' were formed in each neighborhood to wipe out the vestiges of the 'neocolonial culture' left behind by the old regime, including tapes, records, and publications. In Hanoi the Municipal People's Council sent inspection teams into hundreds of households in 1980 to play tapes and records to check their acceptability and confiscated hundreds of them 'for further consideration.'" (Porter, Gareth. *Vietnam: The Politics of Bureaucratic Socialism*, Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press. 1993. pp. 165–166)

News article excerpt

"Mind Over Marx:
Professors Open Vietnam's First Private University"

by Murray Hiebert in Hanoi
Far Eastern Economic Review
July 20, 1989

A handful of Vietnamese professors, frustrated at the deteriorating quality of education since the communists reunified Vietnam 14 years ago, recently opened the country's first private university. The University of the Soaring Dragon, or Thang Long, the original name for Hanoi, will be testing the limits of *doi-moi*, or renovation in Vietnam. For starters, this university has admitted students based on academic performance rather than class background and offers courses not taught in state schools.

The opening of the new university followed the first known protests in Ho Chi Minh City by students demanding that the outdated curriculum in government colleges be overhauled. More recently, several state universities in the former capitalist south have been allowed to elect their own rectors, which in at least one case resulted in defeat for the communist party's candidate.

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The growing interest in private schools comes in response to mounting discontent among students, particularly in the south. Early this year, students in the Economics Institute and the Polytechnical University in Ho Chi Minh City organized the first known "teach-ins" or symposiums in communist Vietnam to voice their complaints about their curriculum, student recruitment and the poor living conditions of students.

Students complained that they are taught concepts of Marxism-Leninism which were fashionable before Vietnam began its economic reforms nearly three years ago, said Tran Ngoc Chau, a member of the editorial board of the *Tuoi Tre* (Youth) magazine which reported the student demands.

"If you just teach students that socialism is a society where everyone is happy, you can't explain why Vietnam is still so backward," Chau said. Students also demanded that academic performance, not their family's political background, should determine whether they are admitted into university, the journalist noted.

News article excerpt

"Intellectual and Academic Decline"

by Vu Anh

Vietnam Economic News

June 16–22, 1995, p. 12

Vietnam has begun integration into the international economic, diplomatic and social systems. Will this process be fast or slow? and will it be done correctly? This depends on the implementation of its potential and the efforts of its leaders and intellectuals.

Intellectual training in Vietnam is varied. Apart from the 108 universities and colleges, Vietnam has dozens of training establishments belonging to different bodies, and 271 secondary vocational schools. From 1993 to 1994, the number of enrolled students was about 175,410. However, Vietnam has a lower rate of students/100,000 people than some other regional countries, such as Thailand, the Philippines and South Korea. Expansion of the scale of university training activities requires primary attention in the country's industrialization and modernization strategy.

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Without the immediate training of young intellectuals, a large shortage of successors will be inevitable.

scenario #4

For discussion:

1. What does Gareth Porter mean by "'Cultural army units' were formed in each neighborhood to wipe out the vestiges of the 'neocolonial culture'"? Douglas Pike, currently Director, Indochina Archives, University of California, Berkeley, notes that "Remaking of southern society—called 'breaking the machine'—dominated day-to-day activity for Party and State cadres in the South (in 1976)."* Compare and contrast these statements.

2. How is the information included in Murray Hiebert's and Vu Anh's articles illustrative of transition in Vietnam from 1975, when the Vietnamese revolutionary government took control of South Vietnam?

3. What is your opinion of this transition?

Group Task

Your task is to write a "letter to the editor" of the *Tuoi Tre* (Youth) magazine, mentioned in the *Far Eastern Economic Review* article excerpt. The format and emphasis are your choice, but you must present information about the impact the transition in Vietnam's politics has had on the intellectuals in Vietnam. Select someone to read the letter to the rest of the class.

* Douglas Pike, "Vietnam During 1976: Economics in Command," *Asian Survey*, January 1977, Volume XVII, Number 1 (Berkeley: University of California Press. 1977). p. 38.

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RELIGIOUS FOLLOWERS

In this activity, first read through the background information about religion in Vietnam. You will be asked to discuss and analyze an article excerpt and a poem that focus on religion in Vietnam.

Background information

Religion

According to Murray Hiebert,

> After the communists overthrew the U.S.-backed Saigon regime in 1975, the victors moved quickly to weaken the country's religious communities as rival political forces in Vietnamese society. The new rulers knew only too well that Buddhist dissidents had played a key role in toppling the southern government of Ngo Dinh Diem in 1963, while most Catholics and believers of the indigenous Cao Dai and Hoa Hao religions had actively supported Hanoi's enemies.
>
> To prevent any new challenge to its leadership, the party took over the vast network of social institutions—schools, hospitals, orphanages—run by religious groups. Theological training schools were closed and scores of clergy were sent to re-education camps or jailed.
>
> • • •
>
> But church-state tensions have eased considerably since near-economic collapse and years of international isolation forced Vietnam's communists in 1986 to adopt free-market economics and abandon old-time Marxist-Leninist orthodoxy.
>
> By the late 1980s, most imprisoned clergy had been released and the major religions had been allowed to open small seminaries, though students are still screened by Hanoi's security apparatus.
>
> Religious groups can once again import Bibles and publish religious books and magazines. "We still need to ask for permission to publish," Tu (a Catholic priest in Ho Chi Minh City and member of the National Assembly) said, "but before if we asked for permission, we didn't get it." (Hiebert, Murray. *Vietnam Notebook*, Hong Kong: Review Publishing Company Limited. 1993. p. 83)

scenario #5

News article excerpt

"In God They Trust: A Wave of Religiosity Sweeps the Country"

by Adam Schwarz in Hanoi

Far Eastern Economic Review

June 27, 1996, p. 20

Across Vietnam, attendance at temples, pagodas and churches is up, particularly among the young. New houses of worship are being built and traditional festivals are increasingly popular. What's more, the pursuit of spiritual fulfillment is enjoying favourable coverage even in the normally dour official press.

But whether all this signals a true spiritual revival is uncertain. Ba Chua Kho pagoda and many others like it offer a dash of Buddhism, a pinch of Confucian ancestor worship and, in the words of some Vietnamese observers of the phenomenon, bucketfuls of superstition. For many, offerings and prayers have less to do with spiritual uplift and more with seeking down-to-earth favours from heaven.

As for the Communist Party, having largely shed its ideological obeisance to atheism, it now takes a mostly benign view of expressions of piety. Although suspicion of religious hierarchies remains widespread in leadership circles, the government has removed many of the official and unofficial obstacles to private worship as it strives to identify itself more closely with Vietnam's traditional culture.

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But while the government has generally become more relaxed about how individuals fulfil their spiritual needs, Hanoi continues to treat religious hierarchies with distrust, and in some cases persecution.

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Poem

The following poem was written in December 1996 by a Vietnamese Buddhist monk, now practicing Buddhism in San Jose, California. He wished to be anonymous.

"The Fall of Saigon and Life as a Buddhist Monk"

Practicing Buddhism freely before the fall of Saigon
I realize now how much I took for granted
Taken to re-education camp after 1975
Belief in my religion enabled me to endure
Released in 1988, I came to American shores in 1990
Now practicing Buddhism freely in San Jose
I realize that I can't take this for granted
Vietnamese Americans come to my temple
I hope that they will remember what we had to endure
With the Vietnamese Communist Party's grip on religion loosening
Maybe someday I will go back to the country of my birth
to practice Buddhism as I did before the fall of Saigon

For discussion:

1. How has the transition in Vietnam's politics impacted religion in Vietnam?

2. What is your opinion of this transition?

Group Task

Prepare a five-minute summary of the information on religious followers to share with the rest of the class. In addition, write a short poem that communicates your reaction to the poem written by the Vietnamese Buddhist monk.

MINORITIES

In this activity, first read through the background information about minorities in Vietnam. You will be asked to discuss and analyze two excerpts that focus on minorities in Vietnam, one from the *Far Eastern Economic Review* and the other from a book published in Vietnam.

Background information

Minorities

According to Gareth Porter, Director, International Program, Environmental and Energy Study Institute, Washington, D.C., ethnic Vietnamese constitute about 87 percent of the population in Vietnam. The largest ethnic minority is the ethnic Chinese. As of 1977, there were about 1.7 million ethnic Chinese in Vietnam, with about 1.4 million of these living in South Vietnam. There are about sixty other minorities, but only seventeen of them comprise more than fifty thousand people. According to Porter, "Most of the major ethnic groups live in mountainous areas bordering China, Laos, and Cambodia, which gives them a strategic importance in Vietnam's past and present conflicts out of proportion to their numbers....Illiteracy among these minorities remains high (67 to 88 percent) and has continued to rise, and only 5 to 10 percent of school-age children attend school." (Porter, Gareth. *Vietnam: The Politics of Bureaucratic Socialism*, Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press. 1993. pp. 33–34)

News article excerpt

"Dynamics of Despair: Poverty Condemns Minorities to Margins of Society"

by Murray Hiebert in Sapa and Pleiku

Far Eastern Economic Review

April 23, 1992, pp. 26–27

Hanoi's six-year free-market reform program has so far brought few benefits to Tan Sanmay, a Dao minority woman who farms on the steep mountain slopes of Lao Cai province near Vietnam's border with China. The 53-year-old grandmother says the biggest change brought by the reforms is that the village cooperative, set up in the heady days of the communist party's march towards socialism, has been abandoned.

What little cultivable land there is in Ta Phi village has been divided among individual families but, with the demise of the cooperative, farmers no longer have access to government-subsidized fertilizer to boost their output. Sanmay, who is illiterate, is not sure how much land her family farms, but she estimates her plot produced enough rice last year to feed her family of nine for eight or nine months.

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After the communists defeated the U.S.-backed regime in the south in 1975, they ploughed most of their meagre resources and limited foreign aid into developing industry in the cities and agriculture in the fertile Red and Mekong river deltas.

The minorities, many of whom practise shifting cultivation in or at the edge of the country's forests, were encouraged to resettle in fixed communities and become self-sufficient in food production, a goal that proved unattainable. Most villages continue to face rice shortages for three to nine months each year.

Rapid natural population growth among minorities, coupled with the migration of several million ethnic Vietnamese from the overcrowded deltas to the highlands in the late 1970s and early 1980s, resulted in severe land shortage in the region. The unrelenting search for food has led to the rapid destruction of the country's forests and a sharp loss in soil fertility, further reducing the ability of minority farmers to eke out a living.

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One of the biggest changes under communist rule has been an attempt to legislate racial equality and elevate more minorities to government and party posts.

The party's 146-member Central Committee includes 13 minorities, while 163,000 party members, 7.5% of the total, come from minority groups. The National Assembly has 66 minorities among its 395 representatives, but most civil servants in highland areas are still ethnic Vietnamese because the pool of literate minorities is so small.

Some minorities feel that their equality exists mainly on paper and that many local officials and ethnic Vietnamese continue to look down on them. "The state's policy against discrimination is correct, but people who carry out the policies in the provinces, districts and villages don't follow this policy," complains a minority village party chief. "They say we lack education, live in caves and eat salt. I think discrimination has increased since 1975."

Book excerpt

Ethnic Minorities in Vietnam

by Dang Nghiem Van, Chu Thai Son, and Luu Hung

Hanoi: The GIOI Publishers, 1993, pp. 5–15

The unity of the Vietnamese nation has been strengthened by the constant threat of invasion from feudalist or imperialist powers. In view of geographical position and natural resources, Vietnam has throughout its history been a focus of more powerful forces. Once settled in Vietnam, the ethnic groups realized the necessity of unity in order to safeguard the country and their own existence.

• • •

...especially since the liberation of the south, the lives of ethnic groups in Vietnam have greatly changed in all respects.

They have become citizens with full rights; they elect their own representatives at all levels and to all positions in the Party and the State.

• • •

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However, for historical reasons, the consequences of 30 years of war, and mistakes committed in the implementation of policies towards the minorities, the latter—particularly those living in remote regions—are still in a state of underdevelopment. The disparities in the material and spiritual lives of ethnic groups are still obvious. The policy of renovation put forward by the 6th National Congress of the CPV (Communist Party of Vietnam) has not yet borne fruit due to lack of investment, infrastructure, and trained personnel. The 7th Party Congress has remedied this situation by introducing specific measures in favour of the population of remote for the benefit of the minorities, thereby reducing the difficulties facing the latter. The extremely complex relationship between different ethnic minorities calls for greater attention from the authorities concerned and cannot be settled only with the patience, competence and dedication of local officials and the efforts of the population themselves; it must be done in such a way that the smallest ethnic groups are in a position to retain their identities intact while being integrated into the national community.

For discussion:

1. Compare and contrast the perspectives included in the article and book excerpts.

2. Are there issues presented in these excerpts that are similar to issues facing minorities in the United States or another country with which you are familiar?

3. What is your opinion about the situation facing minorities in Vietnam?

Group Task

Your task is to create a five-minute news broadcast for an international television network. The format and emphasis are your choice, but you must present information about the situation of minorities in Vietnam from different perspectives.

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WOMEN

In this activity, first read through the background information about women in Vietnam. You will be asked to discuss and analyze an article excerpt that focuses on women.

Background information

Women (a Vietnamese perspective)

According to Mai Thi Tu and Le Thi Nham Tuyet in *Women in Vietnam*:

> After eight years of struggle against U.S. aggression (1965–1972), Vietnamese women had traveled a very long road with the "Three Responsibilities" movement. Great and rapid progress had been made in all domains, political, cultural and social.
>
> The Spring 1975 General Offensive crowned their long efforts, their countless sacrifices, and the heroism and courage they had displayed over months and years. The brilliant victory of our people over the U.S. imperialists, driven right out of the southern part of our fatherland, the reunification of the country—the dream nurtured by our people throughout a whole century of struggle—was a new encouragement for them, a new source of pride. This was also a victory of 30 years of struggle for their own emancipation which was inseparable from the struggle for national liberation and social equality.
>
> For women in the North, the return of peace marked a new stage in national reconstruction and the building of socialism. Their work and their creative spirit have a wide field of action open to them. The prospects have never been so rosy.
>
> For women in the South, national reunification often brings a confrontation of values. This is a particularly sensitive question for the city-dwellers, whose life-style has been Americanized to different degrees, and this has affected fashions in clothes, their way of speaking and even their way of thinking. They have rejoined the national community, and the paths they have taken are many and varied. (Mai Thi Tu and Le Thi Nham Tuyet, *Women in Vietnam*, Hanoi: Foreign Languages Publishing House. 1978. pp. 288–289)

scenario #7

Women (a U.S. perspective)

According to Kathleen Barry in *Vietnam's Women in Transition*:

> The effects of industrialization on the status of women are mixed. With economic development, women are able to move into the public economy and labour force, breaking their traditional confinement to the private sphere. But typically, development aid and new jobs in the industrializing economy advantage men first, especially in the competitive labour market. Men get access to material/economic advantages from industrial development before women and that produces a gendered time-lag between a rise in men's as compared to women's standards of living. The gendered time-lag sharpens sex stratification of the labour force and it intensifies female subordination in public as well as private life. (Barry, Kathleen, editor, *Vietnam's Women in Transition*, New York: St. Martin's Press. 1996. p. 9)

News article excerpt

"Women See Little Benefit From Change"

Vietnam Investment Review
September 4–10, 1995, p. 2

For Nguyen Phuong Hoa and her family, the fruits of Vietnam's economic reforms have a bitter edge on the rare days when they get to taste them.

While the end of the bleak era of central planning has brought greater wealth to most Vietnamese, the shift towards a market economy—known as "doi moi," or renovation—has directed a growing burden onto women.

• • •

Families headed by women are common in Vietnam—a legacy of decades of war—and as in many socialist countries, women work in almost all sectors of the economy.

But growing competition in the job market and intense economic pressures are now hitting women the hardest.

Hoa's daughter, Hanh Dung, earns US$15 a month as a messenger and is pinning her hopes on English lessons as a way of getting a better job.

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Only 18 percent of National Assembly members are women, although the Government hopes to raise this to 20 percent by 2000. Women have achieved high positions in government but there are none on the Politburo.

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For discussion:

1. Compare and contrast the perspectives included in the background information about women.

2. Are there issues presented in these excerpts that are similar to issues facing women in the United States or another country with which you are familiar?

3. What is your opinion about the situation facing women in Vietnam?

Group Task

Your task is to create a five-minute news broadcast for an international television network. The format and emphasis are your choice, but you must present information about the situation of women in Vietnam from different perspectives.

scenario #8

STUDENTS

In this activity, first read through the background information about education in Vietnam. You will be asked to discuss and analyze article excerpts that focus on students in Vietnam.

Background information

Students and education

According to the Ministry of Education and Training of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam:

> The profound changes that have been occurring in all sectors of the Vietnamese society and economy since 1987 have already achieved important results. In spite of many difficult challenges, the economy has overcome its decline, inflation has been brought under control, stability has been maintained, and thus the foundation for a new period of development has been laid.
>
> Renovation in education and training is an important part of the renewal of the state. The basic task of renovation in education is to shift from meeting the needs of a subsidized, centrally planned economy to meeting the needs of a multi-sector, state-managed, socialist-oriented market economy.
>
> In 1993, a policy of continuing renovation in education and training was mapped out, based on reports showing that recent changes in education had successfully transformed the system in accordance with government policies and prevented the weaknesses of former years.
>
> The highest national priority is given to the education for science and technology. Education and training are considered the necessary foundations, and active factors for assuring successful implementation of the state socio-economic objectives, national construction and defense.
>
> Investment in education and training must be regarded as one of the main targets for development investment. Conditions must be created to allow education to serve socio-economic development even more actively. In turn the whole society should be mobilized to serve education, and all social strata should be called on to contribute to building a national system of state-managed education.
>
> Educational development is aimed at improving general knowledge, training manpower, and improving its quality and results, in order to contribute to the state goal of "rich people, strong country, and civilized and equal society."
>
> More specifically, the goal of education is to train independent, creative, active employees who can use their professional skills and knowledge to work hard to meet the needs of national construction and defense, while being sensitive to the genius of Vietnamese culture, combining in full play the inheritance of national traditions and the broader human civilization. (Ministry of Education and Training, "The Vietnam National Education

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System," in *Vietnam Education and Training Directory*. Hanoi: Education Publishing House. 1995. pp. 14–15)

News article excerpt

"The Drop-Out Factor:
An Education Crisis Follows Economic Reforms"

by Murray Hiebert in Ho Chi Minh City
Far Eastern Economic Review
September 19, 1991

Vietnam's communist authorities, who shut down private social-welfare programmes in the southern provinces after seizing power in 1975, are once again turning to the private sector to rescue the country from a deteriorating education system which is suffering from a growing number of dropouts and deteriorating morale.

At the Vinh Son Roman Catholic Church in Ho Chi Minh City, the Daughters of Charity of St. Vincent de Paul have opened three classes for 77 street children ranging from six to 15 years old. "We want to give them an education and prevent them from becoming beggars or thieves," says Sister Beatrice My who administers the group's small education programme.

The Daughters of Charity, who run five private schools for 358 homeless children around the city, provide each child with lunch and two changes of clothes using funds raised from local supporters and from their headquarters in Paris. "If I don't give them food their parents won't let them go to school," My says. They need the children to earn money for their food.

My readily admits that her programme helps only a tiny fraction of the city's school dropouts but the Catholic sister says she lacks funds to expand her classes. Cao Minh Thi, Director of Ho Chi Minh City's department of education and training, estimates that at least 60,000 of the city's children aged between six and 11 are not attending school.

Saigon Giai Phong, Ho Chi Minh City's official daily newspaper in the late May reported that some 2.2 million Vietnamese could not read or write. It also reported that nationwide 1.2 million children from six to 10 years of age had dropped out of school, along with another 1 million between the ages of 11 and 14.

News article excerpt

"Poor Report Card for Local Schools"

Vietnam Investment Review
August 21–27, 1995, p. 22

The report card for Vietnam's schools looks grim.

The marked rise in students and the high number of teachers considered "unqualified" means that future graduates may be unprepared for a changing world, educators say.

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Teaching methods and tools are outdated.

"Textbooks have been changed like changing dresses. Unluckily, the dresses are not new, they are patched or re-dyed ones. The change of textbooks alone cannot bring about new life to the national education system," said Nguyen Ky, a former MoET (Ministry of Education and Training) deputy minister.

Traditional methods of "teachers explain, students listen" and "teachers read, students jot down" remain.

News article excerpt

"Back to School"

Vietnam Investment Review

September 9–15, 1996, p. 8

As Vietnamese children return to a new school term, parents and students say what they think about the cost and quality of education.

Nguyen Van Vu, 31 government accountant	Nguyen Van Chat, 42 bike parking attendant	Nguyen Minh Loan, 38 wool producer	Nguyen Quang Si Tuan, 21 polytechnic student	Nguyen Thu Ha, 23 polytechnic student
I think the cost of school accessories such as paper, books, new clothes and bags are too high for families in the countryside.	With my VND700,000 (US$63) per month salary, the beginning of the school year for our two children is a big worry for us: a new uniform, new bag, books for each child plus the money demanded for building and fixing the school.	I wish the quality of the essential teaching was better. There are too many extra classes besides the main school hours and that makes students exhausted from studying. To me the quality seems worse than before.	I have to pay VND120,000 (US$11) in studying fees, and if I am a good student I will get VND60,000 in a scholarship. Because of that most of us have to work outside of school time.	Both my parents are State employees with an average salary of VND300,000 (US$27) so it's rather difficult for them to support me and my younger sister, who is at fifth grade. I have my scholarship, but this small sum is not even enough to buy books.

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For discussion:

1. Compare the Vietnamese Ministry of Education and Training statement with the perspectives contained in the article excerpts.

2. Are there issues presented in these excerpts that are similar to issues facing education in the United States or another country with which you are familiar?

3. What is your opinion about the situation facing students in Vietnam?

Group Task

Your task is to create a five-minute role play, based on the information in the Ministry of Education and Training statement and the article excerpts. The format and emphasis are your choice, but you must present perspectives from Vietnamese students, parents, and Ministry officials.

FARMERS

In this activity, first read through the background information about farmers in Vietnam. You will be asked to discuss and analyze article excerpts that focus on farmers in Vietnam.

Background information

Farmers

According to Neil L. Jamieson, Senior Associate of the Indochina Institute at George Mason University, following the fall of Saigon in 1975, "...Vietnam remained primarily an agricultural country, and the Mekong delta region south of Ho Chi Minh City contained over a third of the good farmland in all of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam. This was a significant part of the national economy, too important to be left alone for very long. In July 1977 the party decided to push for the collectivization of agriculture in the south. They found few peasants, especially in the Mekong delta, who wished to participate; but this merely led to an effort to accelerate the creation of cooperatives." (Jamieson, Neil L. *Understanding Vietnam*, Berkeley: University of California Press. 1993. p. 367)

Since the inauguration of the reform policy, *doi-moi*, in 1986, agricultural collectivization has been undone—the state still owns the land, but the farmers cultivate it as they see economically fit. (Kamm, Henry, *Dragon Ascending: Vietnam and the Vietnamese*, New York: Arcade Publishing. 1996. p. 24)

News article excerpt

"Collective Anger: Farmers Demonstrate for the Return of Land"

by Murray Hiebert in Ho Chi Minh City
Far Eastern Economic Review
January 19, 1989

Frustrated southern Vietnamese farmers, angered by years of abuse by corrupt local officials and eager to reclaim land lost during Hanoi's collectivisation drive in the late 1970s, have mounted the first known public protests in communist Vietnam.

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In many cases, farmers are demonstrating against local officials who are refusing to implement Directive 47, a new communist party land policy which calls for the return of land illegally or arbitrarily taken from peasants when, according to official estimates, nearly 400,000 ha (hectares) of farmland were distributed in southern Vietnam in 1978 and 1983. The new land policy is part of a larger agricultural reform package in which Hanoi is stressing family farming over its previous emphasis on cooperatives in an attempt to increase food production.

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But redistributing land to the rightful owners is not an easy task. Some of the land has changed ownership five times in the past four decades...

News article excerpt

"A Voice from the Rice Fields"

Vietnam Investment Review

January 1–7, 1996, p. 6

A desire to improve the living standards of poor farmers in Vietnam's Mekong river delta drives the work of Vo Tong Xuan, the renowned director of Can Tho University.

• • •

Although conditions for peasants in the delta have improved, the gap between rich and poor countries continues to increase, with the region's minorities remaining particularly destitute. And Xuan also warned that Vietnam must not become complacent about its recent success as a rice exporter.

"If we don't increase the level of investment in agriculture, rice yields won't be able to increase," he said. "Not very far into the future, we won't even have enough rice to eat."

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In 1993, Xuan received a Magsaysay Award—Asia's version of the Nobel Prize—for his agricultural research, which focuses on improving crop yields.

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He believes the main button for Vietnam now is education. Training and education must be improved at all levels, especially education for women. Unfortunately, education in general and scientific research in particular have yet to receive proper investment in Vietnam, Xuan said.

"I'm not pessimistic about the future," he said. "I think we can make it but it will be slow. Our problem is being conservative and a lack of management."

scenario #9

For discussion:

1. Compare the two news article excerpts. How are the perspectives similar or different?

2. Are there issues presented in these excerpts that are similar to issues facing farmers in the United States or another country with which you are familiar?

3. What is your opinion about the situation facing farmers in Vietnam?

Group Task

Political cartoonists use cartoons instead of writing to present their point of view on an issue. Draw two or more political cartoons that illustrate your point of view on the issues presented in this scenario. Some political cartoons have captions, and you may want to include captions with your cartoons. Share these with the rest of the class. You may want to make overhead transparencies of your cartoons.

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Lesson 3

VIETNAM'S ECONOMY IN TRANSITION

Organizing Questions

- What were the economic constraints and forces that lead to the economic transition that Vietnam is experiencing now?
- How have capitalistic countries influenced the transition from a centrally planned socialist economy toward an incentive-based market economy?
- What are some of the challenges, obstacles, and achievements of Vietnam's recent economic transition?

Introduction

This lesson consists of two parts. The focus of part 1 is to familiarize students with the economic conditions in Vietnam that sparked the period of economic reform the country is now experiencing, and to examine the changes the reforms have brought about.

Part 2 engages the students in a simulation in which the four prime economic sectors of Vietnam are vying for grant money that has become available from the World Bank, the Asian Development Bank, and foreign investors from Japan and the United States. Students are divided into groups by economic sector to prepare their proposals to justify the awarding of grant money to their sector. In a class simulation, the groups will present their case to the fifth group, the Planning Committee. The Planning Committee will award points on the basis of the sectors' positive contributions to both Vietnam and foreign investors. The grant money will be awarded by the Planning Committee to the sector groups who achieve the highest ratings on the score sheet.

Objectives

knowledge

- to increase student awareness of global integration, global interdependence, and the changing world economy
- to appreciate the complexity of factors that contribute to the economy of a country
- to understand the factors that lead to the institution of Vietnam's economic reform policy of *doi-moi*
- to consider the organizational challenges that face Vietnam as it shifts away from a centrally planned socialist market to an incentive-based market
- to recognize the importance of international influences (highlighting the United States and Japan) on emerging economies

attitude

- to appreciate differences in outlook among different countries
- to learn to view the economic transition in Vietnam from multiple perspectives
- to critically appraise and evaluate the opinions of others
- to provide alternative views or explanations of an issue

skill

- to present recently acquired information in a new format
- to interpret and analyze how specific economic factors contribute to larger economic policies
- to articulate personal opinion in a group discussion
- to work harmoniously in small groups using effective listening and conversational skills
- to set and accomplish group goals by employing the social interaction skills of negotiation and compromise
- to create a position on a topic and publicly debate its validity

Materials

- Handout #1: Vietnam: A Country in Economic Transition, one per student
- Handout #2: A Simulation of Strategy 2000, one per group
- Fact Sheets #1–4: Agriculture, Infrastructure, Industry, Services, one each
- Handout #3: Strengths and Weaknesses of Economic Sectors, one copy
- Information Sheet: Planning Committee, one copy
- Score Sheets #1–4 (for Planning Committee): Agriculture, Infrastructure, Industry, Services, two copies each

The Vietnam War ended in 1975, and in 1976, North and South Vietnam became reunified as the Socialist Republic of Vietnam. The economy of South Vietnam in 1975 was at a point of economic takeoff, while the economy of North Vietnam was in poor condition. In a desperate attempt to refuel the economy, Vietnamese leaders tried a succession of socialist economic strategies without much success. Finally, in 1986, looking to its Asian neighbors as models (China, South Korea, Taiwan, and Hong Kong), the government of Vietnam decided to embark on an economic reform plan that substantially decreased the role of the state in the economy and encouraged private enterprise and foreign investment. *Doi-moi*, as these economic reforms came to be known, has opened the door to dramatic economic restructuring for Vietnam. The stability of the country depends upon how Vietnam is able to navigate the challenges and opportunities this new economic freedom provides.

Procedure—Part 1

1. Inform students that this lesson focuses on Vietnam's economy in transition. In February 1994, the United States lifted its economic embargo on Vietnam. Some U.S. firms with licensed ventures in Vietnam include PepsiCo, Coca Cola, and Mobil Oil. Japan's top trading companies have offices in Vietnam. The United States and Japan are two of Vietnam's largest trading partners.

2. Divide the students into small groups of 4 or 5 students. Distribute one copy of Handout #1, Vietnam: A Country in Economic in Transition, to each student. Have students read through the handout and compare and contrast Vietnam's economy before and after the implementation of *doi-moi*.

3. Open a class discussion by having students share their comparisons and contrasts. In addition, discuss the questions below.
   - What are some of the factors that shape the type of economy a country has? What are some of the resources we have in the United States that shape our economy? In Vietnam?
   - Before *doi-moi* (the relaxation of government control of business) most international companies were not encouraged to do business in Vietnam. What are some of the changes *doi-moi* instituted? How do they affect foreign companies?
   - Many international companies find the "cheap" labor available in Vietnam an incentive to do business there. How does this cheap labor work both for and against the Vietnamese?
   - Because of *doi-moi*, Vietnam is experiencing rapid economic growth. What are some impacts on the daily lives of local residents? Foreign residents?
   - What effects do you think the rapid economic growth will have on the environment (air and soil pollution, conservation of resources)? What about the Mekong River? How do you think traffic flow has changed on the river?
   - How did the lifting of the U.S. embargo affect the trading capability of Vietnam with other nations? Specifically, how did it help with U.S. trading? How does the lifting of the embargo affect investment in Vietnam?

Procedure—Part 2

1. After the discussion, prepare the students for the following simulation activity. Divide the class into five groups. Four groups should be made up of six members; each group will represent one of the four major economic sectors of Vietnam—agriculture, infrastructure, industry, and services. The fifth group will be made up of any number of students who are on the "Planning Committee" for the awarding of $20 billion in aid to Vietnam. The Planning Committee will be given criteria for the awarding of the aid, while the other four groups will be given different fact sheets on their specific sector. The fact sheets for each sector group will contain basic information on each sector, and will outline six roles for the group members to divide among themselves.

You may want to provide nametags for each student to wear during the discussion and presentation.

2. Groups should read their fact sheets, and prepare their character roles for a presentation. The next day give the students ten minutes to meet in groups to rehearse their strategy and begin the simulation. The Planning Committee should agree on standards for the granting of aid. Each group will be given six minutes (one minute for each student) to present its argument to the Planning Committee. The Planning Committee will take notes on the presentations, and award "grants" at the end of a five-minute deliberation period.

3. At the end of the activity, you may want to conclude by highlighting the economic benefits behind the granting of the funds to the various sectors. The following are some suggested debriefing questions.

   - What are important factors in the decision to grant aid to specific sectors?
   - What effects would the implementation of this grant money have on the Vietnamese economy? The world economy? The U.S. or Japanese economy?
   - What are some of the environmental effects of the granting of aid to the other sectors represented? What are some benefits or drawbacks?
   - Will the standard of living increase with the granting of this aid? Will the population of the main cities grow? Is this good or bad for Vietnam?

Assessment

Have students, individually or in small groups, write research papers that address one of the debriefing questions listed above. Assess how well the students understood the economic factors discussed in this lesson and the complexity of perspectives on issues impacting Vietnam's economy in transition.

Policy Study Reference

Ebashi, Masahiko, "The Economic Take-off," in Morley, James W. and Masashi Nishihara, editors. *Vietnam Joins the World*. New York: M.E. Sharpe. 1996.

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VIETNAM: A COUNTRY IN ECONOMIC TRANSITION

Before reading this handout, refer to the activity listed on page 86 that asks you to compare and contrast Vietnam's economy before and after the implementation of *doi-moi*.

Introduction

One astute observer of Vietnam's economic changes found an unexpected source to exemplify the shift from a government-controlled economy toward a market economy—the emergency room in a large hospital in Hanoi. The *Los Angeles Times* (4/30/95) reported the observations of Canadian economist Geoffrey Hainsworth in a series of visits to Vietnam. "When Hainsworth first visited Vietnam in 1989, the emergency ward was filled with pedestrians run down by bicyclists. A couple of years later, the casualties were bicyclists struck by motorcyclists. Then it was motorcyclists colliding with taxis. Now it is trucks." Hainsworth explains the change in this way: "The source of the accident gets more and more capital intensive. ...There's an enormous transportation revolution going on."

Economic changes in a country aren't dry formulations of obscure policy shaped in government and big business boardrooms. Economic changes affect the daily decisions and lives of all citizens. If the word "economy" is defined as "the system of arrangement for the production, distribution, and consumption of goods and services," then it becomes clear how changes in this system will affect the citizen as both a worker and a consumer. Just as Vietnam's transportation industry has been involved in dramatic change in the past decade, so have many other sectors of the Vietnamese economy.

It may be helpful to think of the economy as something that is created by the interactions of four key elements in a country: the people, the resources, the political structure, and the influence of foreign countries. The strengths and weaknesses of each of these players strongly affect the economy of a country. What does the economy look like today in Vietnam?

The People

The population of Vietnam is approximately 73 million, making it the 12th largest country in the world. More than half of the population is under the age of 20. Growth predictions look for the population to climb to 82 million in the year 2000 and possibly 116 million by the year 2025. This large increase in population will put a strain on the current fragile economic system. Most of the population live in rural areas, and by some estimates up to half of the people of Vietnam live in poverty.

Without careful planning, the economic reforms instituted to provide a better standard of living for all Vietnamese may only benefit those living near industrial centers. Improved transportation, distribution, and communication systems are necessary before those living in rural areas can get the aid they need. The wages earned by the average citizen in one year (the per capita income level), is more than two and

a half times higher in large industrial Ho Chi Minh City (U.S.$650) than it is for the national average of the country (U.S.$250)—one of the lowest in the world.

There is a surplus in the work force (unemployment runs about 25 percent), and a severe shortage of technically skilled workers. In order to satisfy the ever expanding labor force the government may need to: 1) develop labor-intensive industries (textiles, food processing, product assembly) for the unskilled labor force; and 2) invest in technical training for its citizens so they can qualify for higher-paying, technical jobs. While the well-educated, "cheap" labor force of Vietnam is a powerful attraction for foreign investors, it also poses a problem. The near-poverty conditions in which many Vietnamese live may never improve unless better education and better working conditions are provided.

Resources

The gently S-shaped country, favored by a warm but pleasant climate, has about the same land area as the state of New Mexico. Most of Vietnam is covered by mountains and lush tropical rain forest. Rice, the country's largest agricultural crop, is cultivated in the Red River delta in the north, and the Mekong delta in the south. Other major crops are sugar cane, coffee, tea, pineapples, bananas, sweet potatoes, and corn. The Mekong and Red River deltas account for about 88 percent of the country's rice production and for about 65 percent of its overall food production.

Besides a favorable climate, Vietnam has significant energy sources. Deposits of coal, hydroelectric power, and large offshore oil and natural gas reserves are plentiful. Though largely untapped now, the government realizes the pressing importance of developing these resources to meet the energy needs of the emerging economy in the near future. Vietnam has considerable mineral deposits, forest reserves, and over 1400 miles of coastline which not only support the fishing industry, but provide scenic destinations for Vietnam's blossoming tourist industry.

With much development slated for the coming decade, Vietnam is starting to tackle the important issue of environmental protection. Though standards have been drafted and are in place, monitoring and enforcement lag considerably behind. Mounting problems such as maintenance of clean water resources, treatment of solid and organic waste, and vehicular pollution require urgent, direct attention.

The Political Structure

In the summer of 1964, the former French colony of Vietnam was torn by a rapidly escalating civil war between North Vietnam's communist regime and the anti-communist regime in South Vietnam. In 1965, the United States formally committed troops to aid in the defense of South Vietnam and imposed an embargo on North Vietnam. The embargo banned all trade and investment between the United States and North Vietnam. The U.S. military involvement in Vietnam continued for nine years against a backdrop of rising anti-war sentiments from many U.S. citizens.

After the end of the Vietnam War in 1975, North and South Vietnam became reunified as the Socialist Republic of Vietnam. Disillusioned by its ineffective efforts to overcome the communist regime in Vietnam, the United States continued to impose an embargo on Vietnam. The embargo remained in place until February 1994. U.S. officials used it as a bargaining tool in their demands that Vietnam release information about U.S. soldiers missing in action.

The effects of the war in Vietnam were devastating. The number of bombs that had been dropped on the country was three times the number the United States dropped in all of World War II. During these years, the Vietnamese people suffered greatly. The struggle to revive the country's economy through state mandates led to an ever increasing level of poverty within Vietnam. Internal structures such as roads, bridges, and communication and transportation systems sustained great damage. And the socialist stance of the country kept potential investors at bay. Vietnam was forced to import rice, the traditional home-grown staple, to feed its starving nation. Organizations such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund led the world in humanitarian aid policies toward Vietnam. After grappling with poverty for more than a decade, the leaders of the country finally realized that they could not restore their country without international support. The stark contrast between the stagnant economy of Vietnam and the growing economies of its Southeast Asian neighbors forced the Vietnamese leaders to re-examine their dream of establishing a prosperous Vietnam based on socialism.

In 1986, Vietnam inaugurated an economic reform policy called *doi-moi*, which means rebirth or renovation. *Doi-moi* represents Vietnam's transition from a centrally planned socialist economy to a market economy based on private enterprise, profit motive, and foreign investment. In a centrally planned economy, the state possesses both the political power and the production and distribution means. Prior to *doi-moi*, only the government in Vietnam was allowed to own and operate industries, control the production and prices of goods, and redistribute resources.

Doi-moi reduces the role of the state in the economy and respects the integrity of the market to determine competition. As a result of the economic reform, Vietnam has become an attractive investment destination for many global traders and investors. Numerous inefficient state enterprises have given way to private enterprises. The number of small- and medium-sized businesses has been on the rise. Peasants have been granted land use rights—a major reform considering agriculture employs 70 percent of the labor force.

As aid and investment started to flow into their country, Vietnamese officials began to respond to the requests of the United States to supply missing military information—the prerequisite to lifting the U.S. embargo. In 1994, encouraged by Vietnamese progress on both military and human rights issues, the United States officially ended its embargo on Vietnam. The United States was seeking a new relationship with Vietnam—one promoting democracy through private

enterprise. A new era was beginning for both Vietnam and the United States.

Foreign Influences

Vietnam is counting on the financial support of foreign countries to stimulate the economy through private foreign investment. Though much work needs to be done, the leaders of the country are hesitant to relinquish too much power to those who have the financial and technical capability to ease Vietnam's path through this difficult transition. To attract as well as monitor foreign investment, the Vietnamese government has allocated special export processing zones in Hanoi, Da Nang, and Ho Chi Minh City. In these zones the infrastructure services have been improved, the procedures for foreign investment have been simplified, and customary taxes have been reduced. All potential foreign investors who want to do business in Vietnam must apply for a license from the State Committee for Cooperation and Investment (SCCI). The SCCI considers the legal and financial elements of the project and whether it would facilitate the country's economic and social goals. The SCCI looks for projects that improve the infrastructure of the country, have products that can be exported, or replace items that have to be imported. Taiwan has just surpassed Hong Kong as the leading foreign investor in Vietnam with projects ranging from shrimp farming and food processing to multi-million-dollar hotel complexes. U.S. presence in postwar Vietnam began with the lifting of the embargo in 1994. Since the lifting of the embargo, the United States has begun to invest in Vietnam.

In addition to foreign private investment, Vietnam also needs considerable external assistance in developing its infrastructure. With the help of world organizations such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF), Vietnam has received the external financial support it needed to begin its economic restoration. Japan is the leading provider of aid to Vietnam. Currently, aid from Japan funds infrastructure projects such as highways, power plants, and harbor dredging. Japan's political and economic interests in Vietnam began as early as 1977 with the announcement of the Fukuda Doctrine. Named after the prime minister who was instrumental in its implementation, the doctrine's central objective is to further the integration of Vietnam into the Southeast Asian community.

Vietnam has continued its integration into the world economy by becoming the latest member to join ASEAN, the Association of Southeast Asian Nations, in 1995. Established in 1967, ASEAN increases trade among its members through tariff reduction and customs standardization. In addition to its membership in ASEAN, Vietnam hopes to further expand its global presence by becoming a member of APEC (Asia–Pacific Economic Cooperation). However, before Vietnam is asked to join APEC, it will need to develop a stronger domestic economy. APEC was established in 1989 with the aim of promoting and sustaining economic growth and stability within this region. APEC now has 18 members, composed of countries with the world's largest existing and emerging markets. By joining APEC, Vietnam will improve its trading relations with other Asian and Pacific nations, including the United States. It is predicted that Asia

will become the largest export market for the United States by the year 2010. The growing Asia–Pacific region not only provides the United States with a large export market, but also vast opportunities for economic cooperation. How will the trading relations between the United States and Vietnam evolve?

To the Future

Lifting the embargo and normalizing diplomatic relations helped to forge a new relationship between Vietnam and the United States— a mutually important association. Vietnam is a valuable investment destination and export market for U.S. corporations, and Vietnam benefits from having U.S. markets open to them. However, stiff tariffs and taxes preclude favorable trade between the countries because the United States has declined to grant Most Favored Nation (MFN) status to Vietnam. Lack of MFN status penalizes all trade transactions with tariffs that are as much as 20 to 30 percent higher than those of countries that enjoy MFN status. There is strong sentiment in the United States for both the granting and withholding of MFN status to Vietnam, a reflection of the conflicting feelings U.S. citizens still harbor about U.S. involvement in Vietnam. If and when MFN status is given to Vietnam depends on many factors, but two of the most important are U.S. public response and Vietnam's willingness to address issues related to human rights.

Even though a free market system is not a reality yet, Vietnamese leaders are aware of the dilemma posed by the juxtaposition of a free market system and a political autocracy. Freedom for citizens in the commercial ventures of producing and consuming inevitably may lead to the desire for greater freedom in the political arena. To put it more simply, now that citizens can own and operate businesses, they may want the political power to be able to control the policies that govern those businesses. The dilemma the leaders in Vietnam face is how to stimulate economic growth and production to enhance people's standard of living in their country yet still retain their strong political presence.

handout #1

ACTIVITY

Compare and contrast Vietnam's economy before and after the implementation of *doi-moi* in the following areas: (1) economic structure; (2) role of the government; (3) role of private enterprise; (4) foreign investment; and (5) individuals.

Before *doi-moi*	After *doi-moi*
Pre-1986	Post-1986

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A Simulation of Strategy 2000

Background

In an effort to stabilize and promote steady future growth, Vietnam is undertaking a dynamic reform strategy. The country has set a goal to double the 1990 per capita income of the average Vietnamese citizen (from approximately U.S.$200 to $400) by the year 2000. It will take huge sums of money—an estimated U.S.$40–50 billion—to meet this challenge. Much of the money must come from foreign aid and investors. Officials in the State Committee for Cooperation and Investment (SCCI) in Vietnam must work closely with the World Bank, Asian Development Bank, foreign investors, and its own citizens to craft an economic strategy that will direct the dong (Vietnamese unit of currency) to the projects most critical to economic and social stability.

Simulation

In the strategic action plan that follows you will become a member of a group that is involved in this effort to develop Vietnam's overall economy. In this imaginary scenario a grant of U.S.$20 billion has been pledged from two world banks and a large pool of both U.S. and Japanese investors to carry out economic restructuring in Vietnam. Four groups representing the four prime commercial sectors of Vietnam have been invited to prepare arguments (detailing why their economic sector should receive a certain percentage of the funds) and present them to the Planning Committee (the fifth group). After reviewing the presentations, the Planning Committee will award the grant money among the economic sector groups based upon the number of points each group received on an evaluative score sheet of how well each group's plan will meet Vietnam's economic challenges.

In order to be competitive in your bid, read over the fact sheet for your group. Be sure to note the strengths and weaknesses of other industries and factor them into your strategic plan to garner the funds you need for your projects. The Planning Committee's score sheet is also included for your reference. To prepare a strong strategy you will need to be aware of the criteria by which your presentation will be judged. Remember, the SCCI members are looking for industries that will promote the most growth and stability for Vietnam—decisions that require the balancing of many factors. The list below outlines some of the undertakings that the SCCI would give highest priority.

Priority Areas for Investment

- Infrastructure projects (transportation, communication, utilities)
- Products for export
- Manufactured items that replace products that are currently imported
- Labor-intensive manufacturing
- Manufactured products that use Vietnam's natural resources
- Manufactured high-technology products that use skilled labor
- Services (tourism, financial)

handout #2

Each member of each group will select a role that represents one specific industry or business in the chosen economic sector. Each student is to prepare a one-minute presentation to give to the Planning Committee highlighting the strengths of his or her particular business or industry and why funding it would benefit Vietnam. Successful groups will organize the presentation of roles within the group, that is, they will concoct an overall group strategy, to highlight the strengths and benefits of the industry as a whole in the best possible manner. Know your strengths, know your competitors, and remember who your "audience" is and what they are looking for.

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ECONOMIC SECTOR: AGRICULTURE

Current State of Agriculture

Vietnam has a total land area of 325,360 square kilometers and a coastline of 3,444 kilometers. The arable land (land used for cultivation) accounts for 22 percent of the land area. Basically, there are three types of terrain in Vietnam: the low, flat delta in the south and north; central highlands; and the hilly, mountainous region in the far north and northwest. Vietnam is endowed with fertile agricultural land, i.e., the Red River delta in the north and the Mekong River delta in the south. These two deltas are considered to be the "rice bowls" of Vietnam. Together, with the long coastline and the abundance of fresh- and salt-water sources teeming with life, Vietnam has great potential for both agricultural and seafood production.

With the implementation of *doi-moi* in 1986, the agricultural sector has shown tremendous growth and has accounted for 40 percent of the country's gross domestic product (GDP). The country has moved from near starvation to become the world's third-largest exporter of rice. The country has reached a stage of self-sufficiency in terms of food production, which is one of the main emphases of *doi-moi*. The agricultural sector accounts for about 70 percent of the labor force. The projected growth of the agricultural sector is expected to be 4 percent annually. The growth of the agricultural sector is due mainly to the privatization and diversification of cultivation of other crops such as coffee, soybeans, cashew nuts, rubber, and vegetables. In addition to rice as an export, coffee, tea, rubber, cashew nuts, and peanuts were among the top ten exports of Vietnam in 1994.

There is good potential for the agricultural sector. Most of the farming is carried out on a small scale and the methods of farming employ human and animal labor. With improved methods of farming and the introduction of higher-yield species of crops, Vietnam may position itself to be one of the great producers of agricultural products. Besides cash crops such as coffee, tea, and rubber, there is also great potential in vegetable and flower production for both internal consumption and export.

The livestock production is rather traditional and is done on a small scale. With an increase in the standard of living of the people, there will be an increase in demand for meat and dairy products. There is great potential for livestock (pigs and chickens) and milk production. Chicken eggs could also be sold for the local or export market.

Seafood is the third-largest export of Vietnam after crude oil and textiles and garments. As mentioned earlier, the country is endowed with an abundance of fresh- and salt-water sources that are rich with marine life. These provide prospects for a strong and underdeveloped aquaculture. There is great potential for the development of the shrimp production industry. There is a need for the hatcheries to supply the farmers with high-yield shrimp culture and post-larvae (fry), and a need for training farmers in the know-

how of effective shrimp culture techniques. More importantly, there is a need for capital and technical assistance for further development of the shrimp industry.

Roles

Rice farmer (from Vietnam)

You are a rice farmer and you want to mechanize your farm through the introduction of machinery for sowing and harvesting. You also want to increase the production by using high-yield species, disease-resistant species, fertilizers, and pesticides. You would like to have an improved irrigation system on your farm.

Coffee bean producer (from Hong Kong)

You are a coffee bean producer and you have already entered into partnership with a local coffee plantation owner. You would like to expand your plantation and the production of coffee beans. You and your partners would like to acquire more land for your plantation and mechanize the plantation. You also want to improve the transportation system within the plantation.

Vegetable and flower grower (from Taiwan)

You are a vegetable and flower grower and you want to partner with a local vegetable farmer to grow vegetables and flowers for the local as well as the export market. You plan to increase the production as well as the quality of the vegetables and flowers so that they could be exported to countries such as Taiwan and Hong Kong.

Livestock breeder (from Singapore)

You are a livestock breeder and you have recently entered into partnership with a local pig and poultry farmer. You and your partner plan to expand and mechanize the farm. At the same time, you and your partner are thinking of increasing the production of eggs for local consumption and for export.

Shrimp breeder (from Japan)

You are a shrimp breeder as well as an importer of shrimp from Vietnam. You want to partner with a local shrimp farmer. You and your partner intend to increase the production of shrimp. You are also interested in setting up a hatchery for shrimp to supply larvae for the local shrimp farmers.

Dairy producer (from the United States)

You are a dairy producer and you are interested in setting up a farm to raise cattle for milk. You have plan to fully automate the farm and introduce high-yield species. You foresee that there is a prospect of exporting the milk to other countries. You are presently looking for a local farmer who is willing to partner with you in this venture.

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ECONOMIC SECTOR: INFRASTRUCTURE

Current State of Infrastructure

Vietnam's infrastructure is in serious need of improvement and development. The present inadequacies of the transportation, telecommunications, and energy sectors pose considerable constraints to Vietnam's economic goal to double its GDP by the year 2000. Since an estimated U.S.$50 billion in infrastructure investment is required in order to achieve that goal, Vietnam needs substantial external assistance.

The improved conditions of the infrastructure are fundamental to Vietnam's economic growth. The efficiency of the infrastructure system ensures the flow of goods in the distribution system, reduces costs of international trade, and sustains growth in the shipping industry. The operation of every sector of the economy, from retail stores to key economic sectors such as banking, aviation, electric power and government agencies, depends on the infrastructure.

Transportation Networks

The transportation networks, including roads, railways, highways and waterways, are in poor condition. Lacking capital, Vietnam has failed to adequately maintain and repair its transportation networks. Vietnam's roads cover 105,557 kilometers, but about 87 percent of the road system consists of dirt roads. Heavy trucks cannot cross one-third of the country's 8,200 bridges, which are in need of structural strengthening or replacement. Approximately 800 highland communal settlements remain unconnected to any type of network. The improvement of the existing system is needed not only to ensure safety and higher speed, but also to sustain economic and population growth. The recent 7 to 8 percent gain in Vietnam's economic growth led to a surge in demand for transport, which is currently rising at a growth rate of 8 to 10 percent per year. As the central region becomes more developed, more infrastructure will be needed to facilitate traffic between the north and the south. The transportation network is needed also to improve the nationwide distribution system to assure regular supplies of goods and maintenance of inventories.

Like the roads, Vietnam's 100 airports (mostly small) are in dilapidated condition. In order to accommodate increasing air traffic and cargo congestion, Vietnam has to construct new and modern airports, passenger terminals, and cargo facilities. The development in aviation is crucial to the growth of the tourism industry. The aviation sector needs to maintain large numbers of aircraft and provide modern, comfortable passenger facilities. New airports need to be built closer to the cities; international airports need more runways and terminals.

Improvements in the transportation network depend on a stable supply of cement. Vietnam's cement industry is robust. Vietnam produces 4.8 million tons of cement and imports 380,000 tons annually. Vietnam's economic growth is expected to drive up cement demand by about 15 to 20 percent annually for the next few years.

Industry sources believe that by the year 2000, annual demand for cement will be about 20 million tons a year. Vietnam's government has plans to set up more cement plants around the country.

Telecommunications

The telecommunications sector, characterized by an inadequate and obsolete switching equipment and cable system, also needs capital investment. The telephone system is not generally available for private use. One out of every 200 people in Vietnam has a phone. In rural areas, the ratio of people to phone is 4000:1. Vietnam's international phone rates remain high compared to other Asian nations because of the need to finance infrastructure projects and the inadequacy of phone lines. Foreign businesspeople complain of phone and fax bills, which sometimes reach thousands of dollars a month. The government hopes to increase the number of telephone lines from 260,000 to 4 million and the number of phones to three phones per 100 people by the year 2000. The realization of this goal requires $2.7 billion. Vietnam also plans to expand the range of telecommunication services to include fax, mobile phones, paging, and videoconferencing. Current telecommunications projects include installing fiber-optic cables domestically and internationally, with direct links to countries such as Hong Kong. Other projects such as widespread fiber-optic deployment and district-wide network digitization are also under implementation. Vietnam encounters considerable challenge to wiring its rural areas. Since two-thirds of the Vietnamese population live in rural areas. Since the Vietnamese government wants to include this area in the communication loop. The government plans to increase rural phone penetration from 26 percent of villages to 60 to 70 percent by the year 2000.

Energy

Developments in the energy sector are critical to economic reform efforts. Hydropower accounts for over half of the total energy generation, and coal, oil, diesel and gas turbine plants account for the rest. Vietnam has a diversified range of energy resources such as good-quality coal and massive hydropower potential. At this point, manufacturers operating in Vietnam are advised to provide their own power sources to ensure security of production and distribution goals. Vietnam's power demand is expected to grow by 7 to 11 percent per year through the turn of the century. However, Vietnam is in a position of strength compared to many other developing countries in terms of improving its energy sector. It has the capacity to meet the requirements of a growing economy as well as to generate foreign exchange earnings. Vietnam will possibly become a substantial producer of oil and gas.

Roles

Ministry of Transportation and Communication (from Vietnam)

You are the Minister of Transportation and Communication. Your goal is to achieve balanced regional development through strong north-south transportation links. By the year 2000, Vietnam hopes to provide an infrastructure capable of supporting country-wide industry.

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Ministry of Energy (from Vietnam)

You are the Minister of Energy. You have recently drafted a policy framework for the efficient development of the energy sector. You have formulated an energy policy to address energy pricing, promote energy exports, and attract energy investments.

Sigelco, Inc. (from Vietnam)

You are the owner of Sigelco, Inc., which is a Hanoi-based electronics trading and manufacturing company. It will likely be awarded a state license to become the second national telecommunications operator next to VNPT (Vietnam's Post and Telecommunications). As a new telecommunications operating company, Sigelco, Inc., is projecting to increase its revenue by 10,000 percent overnight to $2 billion.

United Airlines (from the United States)

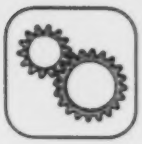
You are a manager of United Airlines. The airline is planning to fly into Vietnam. Your primary interest is the safety and efficiency of Vietnam's airports and terminals. Improved airport conditions in Vietnam are necessary to accommodate increasing numbers of business travelers and tourists.

An owner of several retail stores in a rural village (from Vietnam)

You sell both imports and domestic goods and want improved transportation networks and telecommunication services in rural areas. The success of the stores depends on the efficiency of international and domestic distribution networks.

Associated Pan Malaysian Cement (from Malaysia)

You are the owner of a new Malaysian joint venture that has a cement plant in Ho Chi Minh City. It has the potential to share Vietnam's growing cement market with Vietnam Cement Corporation, which produces about 4.8 million tons of cement a year. Construction projects are expected to drive up the demand for cement.



ECONOMIC SECTOR: INDUSTRY

General Information

Vietnam has many advantages as it strives to become a modern industrialized country. Vietnam has natural resources, generous reserves of oil and gas to fuel the emerging economy, and a work force that is literate and disciplined and works hard for comparatively low wages. However, many vital internal systems such as transportation, telecommunications, and energy production and distribution have to be developed if industry is to expand and diversify. The biggest hurdles to overcome in manufacturing in Vietnam are power shortages, outdated machinery, and distribution problems (getting the raw materials to the factory and the finished product delivered).

Most manufacturing processes in Vietnam are labor intensive and use readily available resources. Textile and garment manufacturing companies are the mainstay of the industrial sector. Together they make up approximately one-eighth of the total industrial output in Vietnam. The regional supply of silk and cotton provides an inexpensive and convenient source of fiber for the textile industry. The local textile producers then supply the garment manufacturers with material for clothes manufacturing. These conditions provide an excellent avenue for exportation of inexpensively made domestic goods to foreign markets.

However, two problems must be considered. First, the quality of Vietnamese textile goods is often inconsistent. This may result from variations in manufacturing processes between factories in which hand labor and older equipment are used and newer foreign-owned factories with modern equipment. Secondly, Vietnam is not always free to export whatever it wishes to other countries. For example, Vietnamese manufacturers have to pay high import tariffs to the United States before their products can be sold there because Vietnam does not have Most Favored Nation status with the United States. Many Vietnamese businesspeople opt not to do business with the United States because of this. In addition, many countries have quotas for certain imported products; that is, the country has set a limit on the number of items of a certain type that it will import from another country. With careful assessment of the global market, Vietnam should be able to discover which products would be valued in which countries and position its products in those foreign markets to compete effectively.

Food processing is another industry that has potential in Vietnam's economy. Production and processing of food products already account for over 35 percent of the entire industrial output, but continued foreign investment and additional modern facilities will increase production significantly. Vietnam is also introducing crops such as pineapples and bananas in order to tap into new domestic and foreign markets. It remains a steady and respected producer of granulated sugar, vegetable oil, noodles, coffee, tea, and processed seafood and meat.

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Many products from the United States and Japan are highly visible in Vietnam. Foreign companies have established joint ventures with local Vietnamese companies to manufacture world-recognized goods such as Pepsi, Coca-Cola, Procter & Gamble products, Dunkin' Donuts, Mobil Oil, Mitsubishi Electronics, and Toyota and Honda vehicles.

New opportunities are opening up in Vietnam for parts assembly operations. Multinational corporations, looking for inexpensive labor bases, often "segment" the manufacturing of their products to different countries. Vietnam has a disciplined, hard-working labor force that has a lower average wage than surrounding countries. This makes it a particularly attractive location for parts assembly operations. Currently, parts assembly manufacturing for consumer electronic products such as televisions, radios, and video camera recorders is gaining in popularity.

The large reserves of oil and gas that lie just off shore are virtually untapped resources, a condition foreign investors are eager to change. The oil and gas industry has garnered more foreign investment than any other sector in Vietnam. Currently, Vietnam is exporting almost all of its crude oil because it lacks the refining know-how and facilities to process the oil domestically. As a result, it has to import refined-oil products. As joint ventures between Vietnam and foreign companies develop, the transfer of technological knowledge will allow Vietnam to undertake the first steps toward producing its own fuel and oil-based products domestically.

Agriculture now makes up about 40 percent of the gross domestic product (the total sum of all earnings in a country), while industry accounts for just over 20 percent. With aid, investment, and careful planning, the industrial sector in Vietnam will soon contribute a larger share of the country's earnings.

Roles

Textile manufacturer (from Hong Kong)

You are a textile manufacturer who owns a factory in Ho Chi Minh City. You want to improve the quality of your manufactured products so they can compete in the world market. You need capital to buy modern equipment (and training for the people who will operate it) so your products can compete internationally. To assure your place in the global market your company plans to 1) manufacture items that have not filled the quotas in other countries—silk, suits, and dresses, and 2) seek out markets where the competition isn't so intense so you can garner new clients. You import some materials for the manufacturing process, but the silk and cotton your company uses are locally produced.

PetroVietnam representative (from Vietnam)

You are a representative of the PetroVietnam Oil and Gas Company, one of the most successful state-owned enterprises in Vietnam. Your company currently exports crude oil to other countries, where it is refined, then imports it back into Vietnam to meet the country's power demands. Your company needs capital funds to complete

construction of two oil refineries by the year 2002. In addition to the savings generated by being able to refine oil domestically, your company hopes to be able to export excess supplies. Additional objectives of your company: 1) increase gas and oil exploration in both the Mekong and Red River deltas, 2) build factories to process petroleum products, 3) construct natural gas pipelines (to take local advantage of this much underused power source), 4) research and install procedures to protect on- and off-shore environments. Final note—the State Committee for Cooperation and Investment (SCCI) is very cautious about approving foreign joint ventures in this sector.

Coca-Cola corporate officer (from the United States)

You are the president of the Asian/Pacific division of the Coca-Cola Corporation. You have just received notification from the SCCI that your project to build a bottling plant in Da Nang (located midway between Ho Chi Minh City and Hanoi) has been approved. You are seeking capital to construct a modern facility in a rural area in Vietnam. Increased costs for construction, transportation and programs to train local people will inflate the overall cost of the project for your corporation. Though competition in the beverage market is stiff, brand-name recognition and preference for your product is high in Vietnam.

Canned fruit manufacturer (from Vietnam)

You are the owner of a small cannery in Phu Tho, a small town about 100 kilometers northwest of Hanoi on the Red River. Your company employs 400 Vietnamese workers. Currently, your plant is only able to process two local types of fruit, but you would like to build a new factory that can process the new type of pineapple that has been introduced in the country. Demand for the product is high both domestically and in the greater region. You are looking for capital to cover the large expenditures required for building and outfitting a new factory in this rural area. You have opened negotiations with Dole about a possible joint venture, but Dole would like to see additional financial support from another source before it commits to operations.

Mitsubishi Electronics corporate officer (from Japan)

You are the Vice President of Foreign Operations for the Mitsubishi Electronics Corporation. You have identified a location for the semi-conductor plant your company would like to build in Gia Dinh, a small city a few kilometers north of Ho Chi Minh City. Proximity to the airport is a key factor in your parts assembly business. Your business has a tiered job structure which offers employment for unskilled laborers (parts assembly) to those with college degrees in computer science (quality control and packaging). The plant would employ 2200 people the first two years in operation with further expansion of facilities and employees in the near future. You are seeking capital not only to help construct the plant, but to install state-of-the-art computerized quality-control equipment. You have contacted the National University in Hanoi about offering courses in computer technology to help train potential employees.

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Engineering Solutions corporate officer (from the United States)

You are the president of a mid-size pollution control company from Cleveland. Your company specializes in two areas: designing emission control systems for large factories, and designing and producing a vehicle emissions-control apparatus that can be adapted for use on a wide variety of automobiles. Mr. Dua, the Deputy Director of the National Environmental Agency in Vietnam, contacted your company last year for possible consulting work. Based upon that interaction, your company has decided to submit a proposal to the SCCI to set up branch consulting and manufacturing operations in Ho Chi Minh City. However, the complicated, hi-tech engineering and manufacturing processes involved in your operation will require large capital investments. The need in the country for your services and products is great—Vietnam has detailed environmental regulations, but they are not enforced. As environmental conditions worsen, the government is expected to initiate a strict regulatory program. Your company would be the first to offer such services and products in Vietnam.

ECONOMIC SECTOR: SERVICES

Tourism

Tourism is the second-largest industry in Vietnam. In 1994, almost one million tourists visited Vietnam. Vietnam, as well as the rest of the world, would like to see this number rise. But Vietnam is hoping for a specific kind of tourist, and it is not the college backpacker who eats at noodle stands on the side of the road, and sleeps in a tent! Vietnam is hoping to attract the middle- to upper-class traveler, who will spend more time and money in Vietnam. Unfortunately, Vietnam does not have enough of the air-conditioned hotels, rental cars, roads, or air service to steadily attract this type of visitor. Vietnam will try to follow Thailand's example; the number of visitors to Thailand increased from 1.8 million in 1980 to 6 million in 1994. Thailand did go through the middle "backpacking stage," though. Vietnam is trying to avoid that stage for as long as possible by imposing high visa rates and internally set plane fares, and by putting many restrictions on the building of hotels in business centers like Hanoi and Ho Chi Minh City. Vietnam also has a beautiful countryside that the Vietnamese would like to make available for tourists. The real question remains to be answered: Can Vietnam skip the transition tourist stage, or must it undergo this stage? Countries like Thailand have tourist offices all over the world promoting their nation as a vacation spot. Vietnam may have to follow in Thailand's footsteps, but first it must allow for the internal development of the infrastructure to support its dreams of being a major vacation spot.

Banking

With the lifting of the U.S. embargo on Vietnam in February 1994, U.S. banks were free to conduct business in Vietnam. In fact, the World Bank and IMF (International Monetary Fund) began working on "good works" projects for humanitarian aid a couple years prior to the lifting of the embargo. Many U.S. banks have opened offices in Vietnam, including Citibank and Price Waterhouse. The banks are hoping to open this new market and gain loyalty early. Unfortunately, there is a lack of technical infrastructure and skilled staff in Vietnam. The accounting systems are not consistent with international standards, but with the increased involvement of international institutions, these problem areas are expected to decrease rapidly.

The present economy is largely cash driven, but with the 1988 banking reform that created a two-tier banking system, and the 1994 Currency Law that mandated that all payments be made in dong, the Vietnamese banking system is well on its way toward meeting international standards.

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Legal

There is a thriving business in Vietnamese law these days. All the businesses that are establishing themselves in Vietnam need the aid of lawyers who understand Vietnamese law and who can help foreign and local businesses follow these laws. But Vietnam's law process is not fully streamlined and the lack of precedents causes problems with implementation and enforcement.

Vietnam has also recently put restrictions on foreign lawyers conducting business in Vietnam. The 25 foreign law firms operating in Vietnam must apply for a 'branch' license, must employ two lawyers with five years experience at each branch, and may not hire Vietnamese lawyers. The foreign lawyers may also not advise on Vietnamese law, only international law. This puts both Vietnamese and foreign lawyers in a new and precarious position. In fact, most countries do not allow foreign lawyers to practice their country's law. Hopefully these restrictions will not deter foreign lawyers and will encourage Vietnamese lawyers interested in bridging the all-important gaps between Vietnamese law and international law and the rapidly growing economy. There are also three new laws that help build bridges between the justice system and the banking system: the Foreign Investment Code, which controls foreign investment; Company and Contract Laws, which control foreign investment and development in Vietnam; and Law on Land Ownership, which puts restrictions and policies in place for land development and ownership. With more laws and regulations, the Vietnamese government hopes that the internal infrastructure of Vietnam will keep growing.

Medical

Whether you are living in or visiting Vietnam, one main consideration is the quality and quantity of health care facilities. Vietnam has 165,516 hospital beds, and 23,300 physicians. Vietnamese women live, on average, to be 67 and men live to be 63. The infant mortality rate is 47/1000 live births. The Vietnamese practice two different types of medical philosophies. One is what we know as Western-style medicine, and the other is called Traditional Oriental Medicine, or TOM for short. TOM consists of age-old medical treatments such as acupuncture and herbal medicines. A TOM-style doctor will first listen to the patient's symptoms, and then examine the body, taking pulse readings at more than eight places. The typical ailments that a TOM doctor will treat include headaches, insomnia, and depression.

Visitors to Vietnam who are used to Western-style medical practices will likely want to guard against some of the possible diseases before going to Vietnam. Depending on age and place of stay and whether they will be traveling to rural areas or not, adults and all children should have several vaccinations. The most highly recommended vaccinations include typhoid, hepatitis A and B, and rabies. These vaccinations are suggested for rural areas of travel. If a traveler does have a serious medical emergency, especially if it involves a blood transfusion, it is best to be airlifted out to the nearest medically equipped city. Bangkok and Hong Kong are two close options. Vietnam does not screen its blood before donor use, and there are no

statistics on the prevalence of the AIDS virus, but travelers should assume that it is rampant.

Roles

Tourism (from Vietnam)

You are a Vietnamese travel agent trying to promote tours of both the rural and urban areas of Vietnam. Your main goal is to try to raise money to promote Vietnam to tourists. You can decide to use the money for advertising or other forms of promotion. What are the positive influences of tourism on a country? What are some of the negative influences? How can you convince the planning committee that your travel agency will help Vietnam? How will the grant money help the Vietnamese people, their economy, their infrastructure, and the interests of travelers worldwide?

Banking (from the United States)

You are a representative of a large U.S. bank that is opening offices in Vietnam. You have some money to start the bank, but there are so many property expenses that it will be difficult to have many foreign employees. You would like to hire local Vietnamese and train them in international banking. You also want to try to gain the trust of the Vietnamese investors so they begin investing through your bank. Why do you need this grant money? What benefits to the Vietnamese country are you providing? What benefits to the global society? Where would you put your office? How would you persuade Vietnamese investors to put money in your bank?

Legal (from Vietnam)

You are a recent Vietnamese law school graduate. You have decided to open a law firm practice in Ho Chi Minh City. You do not have the funding or the resources to build an office. You can speak both Japanese and Vietnamese and are interested in working on international law, specifically within Asia and the Pacific. Why do you deserve this grant? What benefits to Vietnam and all of Asia do you help provide? How will the grant money ease some of your capital expenses and help you begin to open your law business? Why is it important for there to be Vietnamese international lawyers?

Medical (from Vietnam)

You are a Vietnamese physician. You just opened your practice and have been trained in both Western-style medicine and Traditional Oriental Medicine. You are interested in providing more advanced medical help for both local Vietnamese and travelers. You know this dream is expensive. You are hoping that the grant money can defer some of your initial start-up costs, and perhaps some of the ongoing medical supply needs. Why is having an up-to-date medical facility important for Vietnam? How will your practice help other medical facilities start and grow? How will you help other industries?

Tourism (two people from two Western countries)

You are a Western traveler interested in visiting Vietnam. You have traveled to many other Asian countries including Thailand and Hong Kong. You are hoping to turn this trip into a travel service that specializes in providing tourists with a comfortable, educational tour of Vietnam. Your main goal is to include both the rural and urban areas of Vietnam, and to place special emphasis on the cultural

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aspects of Vietnam's history. Why do you deserve this grant money? How will you help the Vietnamese and the travel industry as a whole? What needs do you have for your business to become a success? Will you open an agency in Vietnam?

handout #3

Strengths and Weaknesses of Economic Sectors

Strengths	Weaknesses
Agricultural Sector • rich agricultural land, and fresh- and salt-water sources rich in marine life • temperate climate • people are very experienced in farming • labor force is young, well educated, and hard-working	• methods of farming are traditional and done on a small scale • training needed on how to improve the quality of the harvest • frequent flooding during the monsoon seasons • good irrigation system needed
Infrastructural Sector • sustains economic growth • energy sector generates foreign earnings • rich and diversified energy resources • substantial producer of oil and gas • strong cement industry	• poor transportation networks • new and modern airports and terminals are needed • modernized telecommunication services are needed • rural areas not included in the communications loop
Industrial Sector • natural resources used in manufacturing • strong exports, and Vietnamese products replace imports • jobs provided in rural areas • educated work force • overall improvement of the economy	• foreign capital and expertise are necessary for some projects • negative environmental impact • promotes Western culture • undermines socialist political structure
Service Sector • promotes greater interaction with global economy • brings in foreign investment • helps provide Vietnamese with good jobs • provides better medical facilities	• brings in foreign influences • possibly destroys some traditional forms of medicine and culture • no internal financial structure • legal system not well defined

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PLANNING COMMITTEE

General Information

The Planning Committee consists of members from SCCI (State Committee for Cooperation and Investment), World Bank representatives, Asian Development Bank representatives, and U.S. and Japanese investors. The responsibility of the committee is to decide on the awarding $20 billion in grants to the following economic sectors of Vietnam: (a) agriculture, (b) infrastructure (c) industry (heavy and light), and (d) services (such as tourism, legal, health). You will make your judgment based on the following criteria: (a) economic gains (investors and Vietnam), (b) standard of living, (c) political implications, and (d) environmental impact.

Procedure

1. In your group, decide on the role to be taken by each of the group members (see role profiles on the next page). At the same time, appoint a chairperson and a secretary.
2. Your committee has to decide on how you would like to award points based on the criteria given. Table 1 shows all the criteria and some of the possible indicators for each of the criteria that your committee could use. As a group, carefully study the criteria and indicators given in Table 1 and decide on a planning strategy for evaluating the presentations.

Table 1

Criteria	Indicators
Economic gains	• increase exports • decrease imports or import substitutes • technology transfer • use of natural resources • gains for investors
Standard of living	• increase income • create jobs • balance between urban and rural • human rights such as fair wages and better working conditions
Political implications	• sustain economic growth • increase private ownership • encourage foreign investment
Environmental impact	• conservation of natural resources • pollution: air, land, water, and noise • recycling

3. Use a 3-point scale to award points for the presentations. The points awarded would depend on the extent to which the criteria are met or accounted for by the presenters. Table 2 shows how

the scale could be used if your committee decides to award points based on the number of criteria that are met by the sector.

Table 2

Points	Description
3	All the criteria are met or accounted for.
2	Most of the criteria (2 or 3) are met or accounted for.
1	Only one or none of the criteria is met or accounted for.

4. Record the points on the score sheets provided (one score sheet for each sector) immediately after each presentation. Write down any relevant points.
5. At the end of all the presentations, your committee will spend about five minutes to total up the points and then decide which economic sectors will be awarded the grants. Your committee can divide the $20 billion among sectors. At the same time, you should also discuss and agree on the reasons why a particular sector is awarded the grant.
6. At the end of the discussion, the chairperson appointed earlier will announce the decision and explain why the sector(s) is given the grant.

Roles

SCCI members

You are a SCCI member. SCCI is an important decision-making unit in the economic transition of Vietnam. The SCCI not only plans the policies regarding the economic transition of Vietnam, it also makes decisions on the approval of the types of project to be implemented and the foreign investors. SCCI also prioritizes the types of projects to be approved so that it is in line with the objectives or policies set by the government in the implementation of *doi-moi*. Members of the SCCI are selected to sit in this Planning Committee to award grants to the various sectors.

World Bank representatives

You are the World Bank representative in this Planning Committee in the awarding of the grants to the various sectors of Vietnam. The World Bank is a multilateral development bank which lends money to aid countries develop economically. The World Bank has been channeling lots of money to the Third World nations to help them in their economic development. Most of the projects funded by the World Bank are in the following ecologically sensitive areas: agriculture, rural development, power, and road building (infrastructure).

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Asian Development Bank representatives

You are an Asian Development Bank representative in this Planning Committee in the awarding of the grants to the various sectors of Vietnam. The Asian Development Bank is a development finance institution consisting of 56 members, of which 40 are countries in the Asia–Pacific region and the rest are from outside the region. Vietnam is a member. The Asian Development Bank is owned by the governments of these countries. Its main aim is to promote the economic and social growth of its developing member countries in the Asian and Pacific regions.

U.S. investor representatives

You are a member of the Association of United States Businesspeople. The members of this association include businesspeople of diverse interests such as financial, services, agricultural, industrial, and trading sectors. You are selected to represent the association in this Planning Committee in the awarding of grants to the various sectors.

Japanese investor representatives

You are a member of the Association of Japanese Businesspeople. The members of this association include businesspeople of diverse interests such as financial, services, agricultural, industrial, and trading sectors. You are selected to represent the association in this Planning Committee in the awarding of grants to the various sectors.

score sheet #1

ECONOMIC SECTOR: AGRICULTURE

Presenter	Criteria (check if criterion is met)	Points (1–3)	Comments
1	• economic gains		
	• standard of living		
	• political implications		
	• environmental impact		
2	• economic gains		
	• standard of living		
	• political implications		
	• environmental impact		
3	• economic gains		
	• standard of living		
	• political implications		
	• environmental impact		
4	• economic gains		
	• standard of living		
	• political implications		
	• environmental impact		
5	• economic gains		
	• standard of living		
	• political implications		
	• environmental impact		
6	• economic gains		
	• standard of living		
	• political implications		
	• environmental impact		
Total			

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ECONOMIC SECTOR: INFRASTRUCTURE

Presenter	Criteria (check if criterion is met)	Points (1–3)	Comments
1	• economic gains		
	• standard of living		
	• political implications		
	• environmental impact		
2	• economic gains		
	• standard of living		
	• political implications		
	• environmental impact		
3	• economic gains		
	• standard of living		
	• political implications		
	• environmental impact		
4	• economic gains		
	• standard of living		
	• political implications		
	• environmental impact		
5	• economic gains		
	• standard of living		
	• political implications		
	• environmental impact		
6	• economic gains		
	• standard of living		
	• political implications		
	• environmental impact		
Total			

score sheet #3

ECONOMIC SECTOR: INDUSTRY

Presenter	Criteria (check if criterion is met)	Points (1–3)	Comments
1	• economic gains		
	• standard of living		
	• political implications		
	• environmental impact		
2	• economic gains		
	• standard of living		
	• political implications		
	• environmental impact		
3	• economic gains		
	• standard of living		
	• political implications		
	• environmental impact		
4	• economic gains		
	• standard of living		
	• political implications		
	• environmental impact		
5	• economic gains		
	• standard of living		
	• political implications		
	• environmental impact		
6	• economic gains		
	• standard of living		
	• political implications		
	• environmental impact		
Total			

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ECONOMIC SECTOR: SERVICES

Presenter	Criteria (check if criterion is met)	Points (1–3)	Comments
1	• economic gains		
	• standard of living		
	• political implications		
	• environmental impact		
2	• economic gains		
	• standard of living		
	• political implications		
	• environmental impact		
3	• economic gains		
	• standard of living		
	• political implications		
	• environmental impact		
4	• economic gains		
	• standard of living		
	• political implications		
	• environmental impact		
5	• economic gains		
	• standard of living		
	• political implications		
	• environmental impact		
6	• economic gains		
	• standard of living		
	• political implications		
	• environmental impact		
Total			

Lesson 4

U.S. Relations with Vietnam

The Debate over Normalization

Organizing Questions

- What is normalization?
- What policy issues are preeminent in the U.S.–Vietnam relationship?

Introduction

The purpose of this lesson is to introduce students to the debate surrounding U.S. normalization of relations with Vietnam. The lesson introduces students to policy issues preeminent in U.S.–Vietnam relations (i.e., the POW/MIA issue, human rights, political change, and economic relations) through a Readers' Theater format. U.S. and Vietnamese perspectives on these issues as well as on normalization in general will be introduced.

Objectives

knowledge

- to understand the concept of normalization
- to learn about policy issues preeminent in U.S.–Vietnam relations

attitude

- to develop an appreciation of the importance of U.S.–Vietnam relations
- to develop an appreciation for the complexity of normalizing relations with another country

skill

- to carefully consider different perspectives on a controversial issue (i.e., the normalization of relations with Vietnam) before making a decision

Materials

- The Reported U.S. "Road Map" Proposal for Normalization with Vietnam, overhead transparencies
- Handout #1: Readers' Theater Script, U.S. Policy Toward Vietnam, with a Focus on Normalization, 11 copies
- Handout #2: Observer's Notepad, one copy per student observer
- Handout #3: Leaders Welcome Era of Cooperation, Bill Clinton's Statement, one copy per student for half of class
- Handout #4: Leaders Welcome Era of Cooperation, Vo Van Kiet's Statement, one copy per student for other half of class

- "Street Talk" from Vietnam: Reactions to U.S. Normalization of Relations with Vietnam, overhead transparency
- Policy Issues Preeminent in the U.S.–Vietnam Bilateral Relationship, overhead transparency
- Readers' Theater Nametags, one copy

Procedure

1. Begin this lesson with a brief discussion of the "normalization of U.S. relations with other governments." Ask students what they think of when they hear these terms. In 1977, then Deputy Secretary of State Warren Christopher spoke about "Normalization of Diplomatic Relations." In his speech, he mentioned that it is generally in the interest of the United States to exchange diplomats with other governments and, where possible, to exchange ideas, goods, and people as well. These are important parts of having "normal" relations with another country. He also pointed out that one should "not look at the normalization of relations as an end in itself. Rather, diplomatic relations, once established and maintained, enable us to communicate with other governments directly, to state our views and listen to theirs, to avoid misunderstandings and to exert influence. In short, they help us to accomplish more than we can without them."

   According to *Safire's New Political Dictionary*, the term "normalization" became popular in the diplomatic lexicon in 1971, when it was popularized by Henry Kissinger in regard to relations between the United States and China. "Normalization" usually refers to the achieving of "normal" or stable political relationships between two countries, frequently between a major power and a weaker or dependent country.

2. Point out that following the U.S. withdrawal from the Vietnam War, the United States did not have diplomatic relations with Vietnam. In 1991, however, the Bush Administration promised to follow a four-phase "road map" on the way to normalizing U.S.–Vietnamese relations.

   Utilizing the overhead transparencies, The Reported U.S. "Road Map" Proposal for Normalization with Vietnam, ask students to identify some of the key issues. Point out that many of these issues are discussed in the Readers' Theater which follows.

   Handout #1, Readers' Theater Script, was developed from excerpts of actual speeches and statements from "U.S. Policy Toward Vietnam," *Hearing before the Subcommittee on East Asian and Pacific Affairs of the Committee on Foreign Relations, United States Senate*, One Hundred Third Congress, First Session, July 21, 1993. The full text of the hearing is 120 pages long. An attempt was made to capture the essence of the hearing in the Readers' Theater. All of the main speakers at the hearing are represented in the Readers' Theater.

3. Using the first page of the readers' theater as a reference, assign character roles (11 total roles) to individual students. U.S. Senator Charles S. Robb served as the Chairman of the Subcommittee on East Asian and Pacific Affairs; and six other U.S. Senators, Joseph R. Biden Jr., John F. Kerry, Harlan Mathews, Frank H. Murkowski, Richard G. Lugar, and Larry Pressler, served on the Subcommittee. Senators Robb, Kerry, Murkowski, and Pressler spoke at the hearing and have roles in the Readers' Theater. There were seven other speakers at the hearing. Their names are listed on the first page of the Readers' Theater. Distribute copies of Handout #1, Readers' Theater Script, U.S. Policy Toward Vietnam, with a Focus on Normalization, to each student in the Readers' Theater.

   Assign the remaining students to be observers of the hearing. Their task is to decide whether or not the United States should normalize relations with Vietnam based on the testimony. Encourage the student observers to utilize Handout #2, Observer's Notepad, for notetaking during the Readers' Theater.

4. Allow approximately 30 minutes for the Readers' Theater. Following the Readers' Theater, encourage questions and comments from the student observers. Following this, have the student who role-played Senator Robb, Chairman, ask each student observer for his/her decision on whether the United States should normalize relations with Vietnam. This student should tally the results and determine the percentage of students who voted for the normalization of relations with Vietnam and the percentage of those who opposed.

5. Then share the following information with the class:

   > For 22 years after the U.S. withdrawal from Vietnam, the United States did not have full diplomatic relations with Vietnam. On February 4, 1994, President Bill Clinton lifted the embargo on Vietnam. On July 11, 1995, President Bill Clinton extended full diplomatic recognition to Vietnam. The July 12, 1995 edition of *The New York Times International* reported a CNN/USA Today/Gallup poll that showed 61 percent of the public backing the normalization of relations with Vietnam, while 27 percent opposed it.

   How did the student percentages compare to this poll?

   Utilizing the overhead transparency, "Street Talk" from Vietnam: Reactions to U.S. Normalization of Relations with Vietnam, select students to read the responses. Suggested questions are:

   - How are the issues or perspectives presented similar or different from those presented by Americans in the Readers' Theater?
   - What are some of the concerns about normalization?

6. As a follow-up assignment have students examine the speeches, Handouts #3 and #4, made by U.S. President Bill Clinton and Vietnamese Prime Minister Vo Van Kiet on the U.S. normalization

of relations with Vietnam. Have students identify key issues affecting the bilateral relationship. Distribute copies of President Bill Clinton's speech to half of the class and copies of Prime Minister Vo Van Kiet to the other half. Following an examination of the speeches, have students discuss how U.S. President Bill Clinton and Vietnamese Prime Minster Vo Van Kiet's perspectives are similar or different.

Assessment

You may want to assign an essay to assess student understanding of the content of this lesson. Some suggested ideas are:

- Write a general overview of policy issues preeminent in the U.S.–Vietnam bilateral relationship.
- Write an essay about the impact of POW/MIA issues on the U.S.–Vietnam bilateral relationship.
- Interview and write an essay about a former POW.
- Interview and write an essay about a Vietnamese refugee's perspective on U.S. normalization of relations with Vietnam.
- Utilize the Vietnamese perspectives included in "'Street Talk' From Vietnam" and compare these with perspectives from the class or from the Readers' Theater characters.
- Utilize Handouts #3 and #4, Leaders Welcome Era of Cooperation, and write a comparative essay.
- Write an essay that compares two or more perspectives from the Readers' Theater.
- Write an essay based on the reported U.S. "Road Map" proposal for normalization with Vietnam.
- Utilize one of the questions from Handout #2, Observer's Notepad, and write an essay.

Some questions to consider when assessing students' essays might be:

- Are the essential concepts well described?
- Are multiple perspectives explored?
- How well was the information synthesized, interpreted, and presented?

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Policy Study References

Brown, Frederick Z., "U.S.–Vietnam Normalization—Past, Present, and Future," in Morley, James W. and Masashi Nishihara, editors. *Vietnam Joins the World*. New York: M.E. Sharpe. 1996.

Christopher, Warren, "Normalization of Diplomatic Relations." The Department of State. Bureau of Public Affairs, Office of Media Services. A speech delivered on June 11, 1977 at Occidental College, Los Angeles.

"U.S. Policy Toward Vietnam," *Hearing before the Subcommittee on East Asian and Pacific Affairs of the Committee on Foreign Relations, United States Senate*, One Hundred Third Congress, First Session, July 21, 1993.

THE REPORTED U.S. "ROAD MAP" PROPOSAL FOR NORMALIZATION WITH VIETNAM

Phase I

Began with October 1991 signing of peace agreement on Cambodia.

Vietnam is to:

- Sign the Cambodian peace accord and help persuade the Phnom Penh regime to sign
- Take needed steps to resolve quickly "last known alive" POW discrepancy cases and live sighting reports, and return American remains with an eye toward settling the POW/MIA cases in Indochina in two years
- Allow those Vietnamese detainees previously affiliated with the U.S. to exit by means of the Orderly Departure Program (ODP)

U.S. is to:

- Lift the 25-mile travel ban on Vietnamese diplomats in New York
- Begin bilateral talks on normalizing diplomatic relations
- Permit U.S. organized travel to Vietnam
- Liberalize U.S. economic relations with Cambodia
- State publicly U.S. official concerns regarding genocide in Cambodia

Phase II

Begins after Phase I and once U.N. peacekeepers are well established in Cambodia.

Vietnam is to:

- Continue to support Paris agreement and help persuade Phnom Penh to continue to support it
- Continue progress on POW/MIA issues begun in Phase I

U.S. is to:

- Send high-level delegation to Hanoi for talks on normalization of relations
- Allow U.S. telecommunication links with Vietnam
- Allow signing of U.S. contracts with Vietnam
- Allow U.S. commercial transactions meeting basic human needs in Vietnam
- Work with others to help Vietnam eliminate arrears to international financial institutions (IFIs)
- Allow U.S. firms to open commercial offices in Vietnam
- Lift all restrictions on U.S. non-governmental organization projects in Vietnam

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Phase III

Begins once U.N. procedures and Cambodian settlement process are well in place (i.e., containment of competing factional forces is complete and demobilization has begun).

Vietnam is to:

- Continue its support and encourage Phnom Penh's support of Cambodia peace agreement
- Withdraw all Vietnamese forces/ military advisers from Cambodia
- Resolve "last known alive" discrepancy cases and repatriate U.S. remains readily available to Vietnam

U.S. is to:

- Open diplomatic liaison office in Hanoi and invite Vietnam to establish one in Washington
- Fully lift trade embargo
- Support international financial institutions (IFIs) aid meeting basic human needs in Vietnam

Phase IV

Begins once a U.N.-certified free election takes place in Cambodia; a Cambodian National Assembly is formed and is writing a new constitution; demobilization of factional forces specified in the 1991 accord has occurred; and the objectives of the U.S.–Vietnam two-year effort to resolve POW/MIA issues have been achieved.

Vietnam is to:

[No additional requirements at this stage.]

U.S. is to:

- Establish ambassadorial-level diplomatic relations with Vietnam
- Consider granting Most Favored Nation status to Vietnamese trade
- Favorably consider IFI assistance for non-basic human needs projects in Vietnam

Sources: *New York Times*, October 24, 1991, p. 1; *Indochina Digest*, April 12, 1991. Reprinted from "Vietnam–U.S. Relations: The Debate over Normalization," by Robert G. Sutter, Congressional Research Service, Library of Congress, May 12, 1992.

handout #1

READERS' THEATER SCRIPT

U.S. POLICY TOWARD VIETNAM, WITH A FOCUS ON NORMALIZATION

Wednesday, July 21, 1993
U.S. Senate
Subcommittee on East Asian and Pacific Affairs of the
Committee on Foreign Relations
Washington, D.C.

List of Characters

Senator Charles S. Robb, Virginia, Chairman, Subcommittee on East Asian and Pacific Affairs
Senator John F. Kerry, Massachusetts, Subcommittee on East Asian and Pacific Affairs
Senator Frank H. Murkowski, Alaska, Subcommittee on East Asian and Pacific Affairs
Senator Larry Pressler, South Dakota, Subcommittee on East Asian and Pacific Affairs

Al Baker, Chairman and Chief Executive Officer, Halliburton Energy Services, on behalf of the National Foreign Trade Council, Inc.
Ann Mills Griffiths, Executive Director, National League of Families of American Prisoners and Missing in Southeast Asia, Washington, D.C.
Robert J. Kerrey, U.S. Senator from Nebraska
Winston Lord, Assistant Secretary for East Asian and Pacific Affairs, Department of State
Quan Qhoc Nguyen, M.D., brother of Vietnamese political prisoner, Dan Que Nguyen, M.D.
Edward W. Ross, Acting Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for POW/MIA Affairs, Department of Defense
John Terzano, President, Vietnam Veterans of America Foundation, Alexandria, Virginia

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Senator Charles S. Robb (Chairman)

The committee will come to order. This morning the East Asian and Pacific Affairs Subcommittee is pleased to hear the views of fellow Senators, veterans, policymakers, relatives of missing servicemen, U.S. businesses, and Vietnamese Americans. All have a valuable contribution to make as we begin to plant the seeds of a new relationship with Vietnam. In 1993 the last wounds of the Vietnam War appear to be healing. Progress on the POW/MIA issue, once defined in years, now moves forward almost daily. The President's decision 3 weeks ago to allow Vietnam to clear its arrears at the IMF (International Monetary Fund) and eventually receive international loans marks the beginning of Vietnam's reintegration into the community of nations. Coming to closure on the POW/MIA issue now is the sole remaining impediment to our starting anew with Vietnam and laying the war to rest. Briefly, let me frame the issues as I see them today. First, what constitutes the "fullest possible accounting of missing American servicemen in Southeast Asia"?[1]

Second, I applaud the administration's recent decision to open the door to international lending for Vietnam. Vietnam desperately needs multilateral assistance to build roads, bridges, ports, and other infrastructure items.[2]

Third, I was pleased to hear that Secretary Lord "laid considerable emphasis on human rights issues last week while in Hanoi." Civil, religious, political, and cultural repression in Vietnam is abhorrent. The Vietnamese Communist Party line of ensuring political and social stability for the sake of economic glorification rings hollow. I believe specific steps can and should be taken to embrace the Vietnamese people, but not the repressive state regime.

...I call on Senator Murkowski now for any opening statement he may like to make.[3]

Senator Murkowski

I think that increasing the U.S. presence in Vietnam by allowing businesses to actually begin to trade with the Vietnamese people will hasten the slow process of resolving the fate of our prisoners of war and our soldiers who are unaccounted for. I recall the story of a businessman who was in my office recently who has an office in Vietnam. He said that in the 5 months since he had opened his doors, he has had at least five Vietnamese citizens enter his office with dog tags and other articles. He said that these citizens are not asking for money but remarked that they saw the American flag and just wanted to give him the articles. He has directed all of them to the U.S. envoy's office. I think that it is chance opportunities such as this that will ultimately lead to resolution of the remaining cases.[4]

Senator Robb

Thank you, Senator Murkowski. Before we turn to our opening witness, Senator Pressler, do you have any opening comments?[5]

Senator Pressler	I gave a speech on the Senate floor in February saying it is time to send an ambassador to Vietnam. I believe we should normalize our relationship with Vietnam. My No. 1 reason is that if there are any prisoners of war, living or dead, we will have a better chance of finding them if we have an ambassador in Vietnam. And I say that having served two tours of military duty in Vietnam many years ago, having revisited there, having brought Vietnamese to this country. But a second reason for my wanting us to recognize Vietnam is China's influence. China has her paws on Vietnam. I always have followed the "small state" theory that it is good to have positive relations with the small states that surround a big state. Third, I think that a third reason to send an ambassador to Vietnam is that I think Vietnam will emerge as another Asian tiger. I am making a trip this August with a congressional delegation that is examining the influence of the Asian tigers: why they are doing so well and what we can learn from them and what trade opportunities we have. I think Vietnam in 4 or 5 years will be among them.[6]
Senator Robb	Thank you, Senator Pressler. At this time we will begin our formal hearing...Senator John Kerry of Massachusetts...
Senator Kerry	Our interests in Vietnam are easily defined. First, we have an overriding humanitarian interest in obtaining the fullest possible accounting of American POWs and MIAs. Second, we have an interest in promoting the long-term political stability of Southeast Asia—a region of which Vietnam and Cambodia are integral and, all too often, turbulent parts. Indeed, the Bush Administration's overtures toward Hanoi in 1990 and 1991, which resulted in the so-called "roadmap" for U.S.–Vietnamese relations, was born out of the need to end the conflict in Cambodia and establish a process to promote regional stability. Third, we have an interest in curbing China's aspirations for regional dominance—aspirations which could undermine the security of the ASEAN nations and the stability of the region. Fourth, we have an interest in promoting human rights and democratic freedoms and principles around the world and particularly in Vietnam, where economic development holds the promise of political liberalization over time. Fifth, we have an economic interest in Vietnam as a potentially significant market for U.S. services and goods.[7]
Senator Robb	Thank you, Senator Kerry. At this time I would like to call on Senator Bob Kerrey of Nebraska.

Senator Kerrey

As we approach the task of normalization, we will dishonor the cause of freedom unless we demonstrate equal concern for the remote possibility of Americans held unjustly and the distinct reality of Vietnamese who suffer this fate today.

I would like to quote briefly from Asia Watch's June 22, 1993 statement on U.S. Vietnam policy. They say: "Although the Government of Vietnam has pursued economic and legal reforms and released almost all officials of the Saigon regime held in reeducation camps since 1975, the government continues to arrest, detain, and sentence individuals for peaceful dissent. Any public call for political change or public expression of dissatisfaction with the communist party is prohibited and subject to harsh punishment."[8]

I would like to suggest that normalization of relations proceed with all due speed along the following course.

First, that the United States immediately lift the trade embargo against Vietnam, providing the Vietnamese Government meets the following conditions. First, that Vietnam makes satisfactory progress in implementing current commitments regarding efforts to account for American POWs and MIAs. Second, that Vietnam clearly states its intention to fully cooperate should further steps be necessary to achieve a full accounting for missing American servicemen. And third, that Vietnam establish clearly stated policies insuring that all Vietnamese, regardless of their affiliation during the war, have the right to share fully in the benefits of renewed economic and political ties with the United States.

Second, that subsequent to these steps the United States will open a diplomatic office in Hanoi and invite Vietnam to open one in Washington.

Third, that beginning immediately the United States will aggressively pursue exchange programs with the Vietnamese in business, in education, and government. These programs will be designed to increase mutual respect and understanding.

Fourth, that the establishment of full diplomatic relations and the granting of most-favored-nation status will be dependent on the discussions and progress of the POW delegation and the human rights delegation.[9]

Senator Robb

Secretary Lord, I am going to ask you if you will begin the testimony on behalf of the administration at this point.[10]

Secretary Lord

I am appearing before you less than 48 hours after returning from a trip to Vietnam as a coleader of the special Presidential delegation on POW/MIAs.[11]

In an effort to address Vietnamese concerns about their wartime losses, we turned over to the Joint Archives Center the first portion of about 3 million pages of documents we captured from the North Vietnamese and Viet Cong during the war. Vietnamese officials expressed great appreciation for this information, which they said would help them in working with their people to meet our MIA goals.

We also sought to emphasize the importance we attach to equal treatment of veterans from all sides. We had a particular opportunity to highlight this during our travel to southern Vietnam, when we visited a special project for handicapped veterans. For over an hour we were with more than 100 amputees who were receiving prostheses for the first time. They were the first of close to 1,000 men who will receive such assistance, the great majority of whom are veterans of the former South Vietnamese Army.

This project is possible due to the inspired efforts of Mr. Tran Van Ca, a Vietnamese American who has raised considerable money to finance it.

We also visited the Amerasian Transit Center, which processes the young Vietnamese men and women to whom we feel a special commitment for their movement to the United States.

Our delegation raised forcefully the issue of human rights, which the Senators concentrated on in their own testimony, emphasizing the importance President Clinton and the American people give to this issue.[12]

Senator Robb

Thank you very much, Secretary Lord. Before we get to questions I think it would be appropriate to hear from Mr. Ross about the DOD (Department of Defense) side of this particular equation.[13]

Mr. Ross

The men and women of the Department of Defense have been attempting for 20 years to account for our missing as fully as possible.[14]

The challenge to the Government of the United States lies in explaining to the families of the remaining 2,252 unaccounted-for Americans, to veterans, Members of Congress, and the American people, what constitutes the fullest possible accounting and how it will be achieved.[15]

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Senator Robb

Thank you very much, Mr. Ross and Secretary Lord.

Let me begin by asking Secretary Lord, with respect to timing, General Vessey has indicated that it could take up to 20 years to recover all information relating to POW/MIAs.

Could you give us some sense of how long you think it is going to take, or what kind of factual information the United States is going to have, in terms of the Department and the President in being comfortable, if you will, with the decision first just to lift the embargo?[16]

Secretary Lord

With respect to the fullest possible accounting this will be a multiyear effort. It is impossible to quantify it. It is a painstaking, laborious effort. We must and we shall be careful about it.

I would point out that we still have something like 75 to 80,000 MIAs from World War II, and about 8,000 from the Korean War, although there's never been a war where we have been as aggressive in pursuing information on MIAs as there has been with respect to Vietnam.[17]

Senator Robb

Let me be a bit more specific, then, with respect to the upcoming September 14 date. Do you think that you are going to have enough information at that time to make an affirmative decision, or do you think that there will be an extension of the embargo? Or what is the most likely scenario now, and what kinds of facts might influence that decision?[18]

Secretary Lord

Well, it is impossible to state that now. All I can tell you, Mr. Chairman, as I said in my statement, is that all of us conveyed unambiguously the message that there must be further concrete, tangible progress. These have not been quantified and they are very difficult to quantify. I cannot predict, you will understand, any decision with respect to September.[19]

Senator Robb

We have at this time a public panel. I would like to begin with Mr. John Terzano. He has been over to Vietnam I think five different times... He testified before the committee a couple of years ago.[20]

Mr. Terzano

It has been a little bit over 2 years since we last testified before this same committee on this same issue, U.S. relations with Vietnam. On the one hand, there has been progress in the evolving relations between the United States and Vietnam.

Unfortunately, however, much of the testimony we presented 2 years ago is still valid today. The U.S. continues its war on Vietnam through its aging trade embargo. The U.S. continues to refuse to deal with Vietnam on a level of mutual respect and mutual interest through normal diplomatic ties. U.S. policy toward Vietnam continues to be characterized by vindictiveness and spitefulness. And the U.S. continues to be blind to the fact that we can only play a positive role in the economic, political, and social developments shaping the future of Vietnam by normalizing our diplomatic and economic relations.[21]

THE MIA ISSUE

Over the years, the issue of our missing servicemen has become engulfed in mistrust—mistrust of the Vietnamese government, and even mistrust in our own government.

Much attention is given to Vietnam's inconsistent handling of our concern for our missing men, but our own government is also guilty of glaring inconsistencies in its stance on this issue. One could argue that some of Vietnam's clumsiness may be little more than a reflection of our own.

During the 1980s, for example, the United States went to great lengths to impress upon the Vietnamese that the MIA issue was not linked to normalization. Today, of course, it is the *only* link.

Whatever one's view of the level of Vietnam's MIA cooperation, the reality is that we are more likely to get better cooperation from the authorities, and dramatically increase our access to unofficial sources of information, if we have more Americans in Vietnam. As American tourists, students, diplomats, researchers and business people move more easily around the country, they will come into contact with Vietnamese who have information, recollections, photographs, and other artifacts helpful to our quest. To continue to deny ourselves access to such sources must puzzle the Vietnamese, who have tended to see the MIA issue as a poorly disguised political weapon used against them.[22]

THE ECONOMIC EMBARGO

Those who argue against lifting the embargo against Vietnam contend it is the most effective leverage we have to get answers on the MIA issue.

Over the past several years, as Vietnam's economic liberalization has taken hold and attracted international attention, talk about the economic potential of Vietnam has become almost fashionable. Its 70 million energetic and literate citizens, abundant natural resources, and prime

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location in the heart of the fastest-growing region in the world have prompted many observers to label Vietnam the next "Asian tiger."

Today, the United States is the only major industrialized country in the world that does not have normal economic relations with Vietnam.

If the embargo no longer threatens to bankrupt the Vietnamese government and no longer hinders our economic competitors from reaping profits, who is it hurting? For one thing, America's embargo hurts the Vietnamese people. Despite the talk about economic potential, Vietnam remains an impoverished country. Per capita income hovers around U.S.$200 per year (55 cents per day) and 40% of rural children under 5 still suffer the effects of malnutrition. Yet for 18 years, the United States has been actively trying to hinder Vietnam's economic development.

America's embargo also hurts American business. Billions of dollars in trade and investment opportunities have already been ceded to our closest allies and fiercest economic competitors.

Far from being an effective coercive tool, our economic embargo's main victims are new innocent Vietnamese citizens and our very own business community. If there was ever a time for this embargo, it has long since passed.[23]

DEMOCRATIZATION AND HUMAN RIGHTS

It only takes a short visit to Vietnam to realize that its people's eagerness to develop economically and shake off years of inefficient management far outpaces their ability to find outlets for their energy. As these opportunities arise and the economy prospers, the government will lose its ability to command events and ideas. Competing societal interests, stifled now, will eventually emerge to challenge the government's unilateral control.

This promises to be a slow and, at times, painful process. Many countries throughout Asia, including some of our closest allies, are only beginning to move toward true democratization. They often continue to operate as one-party states and many of America's fundamental freedoms are lacking. We should continue to encourage pluralism all over Asia, but by definition, democracy requires that change come from within. One that relies on the coercive value of a completely eroded economic embargo would be futile. In the end, expanding our requirements for economic and political normalization would be contrary to our desire to see the role of democracy and human rights expanded in Vietnam.[24]

REGIONAL STABILITY

By continuing to deny political and economic relations with Vietnam, we mute our voice and risk creating instability by

retarding Vietnam's constructive reintegration into regional affairs.

In fact, we share common interests with Vietnam in our effort to create balance in the region. A weak Vietnam, dominated economically by Japan and militarily by China, is in neither of our long-term interests. But our continued absence creates a situation where this very outcome becomes increasingly possible. Maintaining our political and economic embargo denies the reality of a vastly changed region, and has the potential to seriously erode our other vital security concerns in Southeast Asia.[25]

OTHER BENEFITS OF NORMALIZATION

A. Boat People

At the present time, there are 80,000 Vietnamese boat people still living in camps in Southeast Asia. In a July 7, 1993 statement, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees said it is time for these refugees to go home.

Last September, the United States provided Vietnam with $2 million to assist with the training of repatriated refugees. The purpose of this money was to demonstrate to the refugees in the camps that we support their returning to Vietnam. A recent visitor to the camps in Hong Kong asked several refugees why they still are not willing to return to Vietnam. These refugees answered that they are waiting until the U.S. lifts the embargo.

B. Orderly Departure Program

The Orderly Departure Program (ODP) is a program that enables Vietnamese to leave Vietnam and come to the United States to be reunited with family members and allows former inmates of re-education camps to be resettled in the United States. The ODP also permits Amerasians to come to the U.S., although the Amerasian segment of the program is virtually completed.

The ODP office is located in Bangkok, Thailand, and effectively functions as a U.S. consulate-in-exile.

The job will be done much more effectively and less expensively when the U.S. consulate is inevitably opened in Ho Chi Minh City.

C. Consular Assistance

American tourists traveling to Vietnam do so without the benefit of having U.S. consular services. The U.S. government has an obligation to provide consular services to its citizens traveling abroad.

In addition, there are now many Vietnamese coming to this country to study. They, too, should have the advantage of having a Vietnamese consular presence in this country available to assist them.[26]

Mr. Chairman, I have just examined many important reasons

for our country to move forward and normalize our political and economic relations with Vietnam. We have much to gain and little to lose by taking this important step.[27]

Senator Robb — Thank you very much, Mr. Terzano. Our next witness is Mr. Al Baker, who is chairman and CEO of Halliburton Energy Services from Dallas, Texas. He is appearing on behalf of the National Foreign Trade Council, an association of some 500 businesses that are interested in investment.[28]

Mr. Baker — We believe that the time has arrived for the United States to lift the trade embargo on Vietnam.

As Senator Murkowski said earlier this month, allowing U.S. businesses to enter the Vietnamese market will give us greater opportunities to resolve the POW/MIA issue through increased contacts with the Vietnamese. Our purpose in appearing here this morning is to emphasize the cost to the U.S. economy and to American companies of maintaining the embargo. Vietnam's rapid economic development and investment by our trading competitors in Vietnam are taking place despite the U.S. policy restrictions. The United States is paying a price in lost jobs, lost profits, and diminished competitiveness in this rapidly growing region.

In the past, because of the cooperation of other countries, the embargo was effective in isolating Vietnam. Now, because our trading competitors have largely abandoned the embargo, it is effective only in isolating the United States from the most populous country in one of the world's most dynamic regions—Southeast Asia.

Vietnam's economy has made impressive progress in recent years. The opportunities emerging in Vietnam are being taken up by our Japanese, French, Australian, Thai, and overseas Chinese competitors. More than 100 countries now have diplomatic relations with Vietnam.

Current investment from the Asia and the Pacific Rim countries is estimated at $5 billion to $8 billion, excluding oil exploration, and is growing.

The slow progress down the U.S. "road map" to renewing relations with Vietnam has been a signal to our foreign competitors to work aggressively to preempt our market entry. The danger we presently confront is that as more time passes, our competitors will become too established to dislodge.[29]

Senator Robb — Thank you very much, Mr. Baker. Next, we have someone who is a personal friend that I have enjoyed working with not only because of his leadership in the Vietnamese and Vietnamese-American community, but because his brother is one of those political prisoners of conscience, and we have asked, as a matter of fact, Dr. Nguyen to speak about his brother, Dr. Nguyen Dan Que.

handout #1

Dr. Nguyen

Mr. Chairman, in your kind letter inviting me to testify, you specifically asked me to address my brother's case. I am pleased to do so, but since he is just one of the thousands who have been languishing in the Vietnamese gulag, it is necessary for me to present the whole picture of the human rights situation in Vietnam.

Mr. Chairman, as widely known and as reported by such organizations as Amnesty International and Asia Watch, Vietnam today is one of the world's most oppressive regimes.

Vietnamese authorities continue to arrest and imprison people who speak out for freedom and political pluralism.

My brother, Dr. Nyugen Dan Que, advocated the nonviolent struggle to establish a democratic, multiparty, and progressive Vietnam through free and fair elections. For that, he was imprisoned twice. The first time was from 1978–1988 without trial. During that time, he was tortured, beaten, and chained in solitary confinement. The second time started from June 1990 until now.

Last year and again this year, he was nominated by you, Mr. Chairman, and your colleagues, for the Nobel Peace Prize as a recognition of the struggle for democracy and human rights in Vietnam. This nomination has also been endorsed by lawmakers in many other countries.

Mr. Chairman, there are some politicians and businessmen who urge lifting the trade embargo and normalization of relations without securing democratic reforms in Vietnam. They said that diplomatic relations with Hanoi would enable the U.S. to have greater influence to promote political reforms. Mr. Chairman, I believe this is naive. In a police state such as now exists in Vietnam, no foreigner can exercise any influence without having some leverage. The lifting of the trade embargo will only help the Communist Party members consolidate their power and enrich themselves, not the Vietnamese people. It will boost the morale of their military and security forces to maintain their economic privileges. Normalization without any conditions will lend legitimacy to the rulers in Hanoi and discourage the democratic opposition in Vietnam. We must not waste our leverage without demanding democracy for the 70 million Vietnamese who have suffered enough.

Real democratic practices should be established by Hanoi before we accede to their requests. We should make clear to the Communists that before Hanoi normalizes relations with the outside world it should normalize relations with its own people first. We must not waste this unique opportunity. Hanoi should show its willingness to rejoin the world community by implementing the following:

No. 1, release all political prisoners, including Dr. Nguyen Dan Que, with full restoration of their civil and human rights.

No. 2, restore all basic human rights, such as freedom of speech, of religion, of movement, of association, as previously

suggested by Senator Bob Kerrey.

No. 3, abolish the uniparty political system and establish a multiparty system in which all political organizations can function without intimidation or harassment.

No. 4, announce a framework and schedule of free and fair elections under the sponsorship of the U.N.

If the United States is committed to these goals, we will peacefully bring freedom and democracy to the Vietnamese people, which more than 58,000 American servicemen sacrificed their lives to achieve. And for that, we, the Vietnamese people, are forever grateful.[30]

Senator Robb — Thank you very much, Dr. Nguyen. The final participant on our public panel is Ann Mills Griffiths. She is well known to just about everyone who has dealt with the question of POWs and MIAs over the years.

Mrs. Griffiths — Thank you, Mr. Chairman. And thank you for allowing me to be here today to represent the POW/MIA families. I have been the executive director of the National League of Families for 15 years...

In our view, the President's decision to end U.S. opposition to the clearing of Vietnam's arrears in the IMF (International Monetary Fund) has reinforced to Hanoi that their consistent policy of purposely withholding records on and remains of Americans, including some last known alive in captivity or in close proximity to capture, has succeeded. In effect, while overlooking Vietnam's ability to rapidly account for hundreds of Americans and consistent Vietnamese intransigence through the years, the United States has endorsed Hanoi's rhetoric and cited the level of POW/MIA activities as results sufficient to gain one of their primary national objectives.

Just before the IMF decision, I met with President Clinton. In essence, I told him that a decision to allow Vietnam access to funds from the IMF, World Bank, and ADB (Asian Development Bank) would undercut all American interests, both POW/MIA and domestic business, while supporting Vietnam and the international business community.

The POW/MIA families met last weekend at Andrews Air Force Base for our 24th annual meeting. There is clearly a consensus that, for whatever reason, the President reneged on his commitment that commercial interests would not take precedence over the families' POW/MIA concerns.

The views of President Reagan's National Security Advisor Robert C. McFarlane were not only well received, but strongly supported. He stated: "The persistent wound—the lasting damage of Vietnam—is our inability to trust our Government. And that will not go away until our Government starts being honest with us again, on this subject and so many others."[31]

Senator Robb — Thank you, Mrs. Griffiths.

1 "U.S. Policy Toward Vietnam," *Hearing before the Subcommittee on East Asian and Pacific Affairs of the Committee on Foreign Relations, United States Senate,* One Hundred Third Congress, First Session, July 21, 1993, p. 1.
2 Ibid., p. 2.
3 Ibid., p. 2.
4 Ibid., pp. 3–4.
5 Ibid., p. 4.
6 Ibid., pp. 4–5.
7 Ibid., p. 14.
8 Ibid., p. 19.
9 Ibid., pp. 20–21.
10 Ibid., p. 26.
11 Ibid., p. 26.
12 Ibid., p. 29.
13 Ibid., p. 32.
14 Ibid., p. 33.
15 Ibid., p. 35.
16 Ibid., p. 39.
17 Ibid., pp. 39–40.
18 Ibid., p. 40.
19 Ibid., p. 40.
20 Ibid., p. 56.
21 Ibid., pp. 59–60.
22 Ibid., pp. 60–62.
23 Ibid., pp. 62–64.
24 Ibid., p. 64.
25 Ibid., p. 65.
26 Ibid., pp. 65–66.
27 Ibid., p. 66.
28 Ibid., p. 67.
29 Ibid., pp. 69–71.
30 Ibid., pp. 74–77.
31 Ibid., pp. 77–79.

OBSERVER'S NOTEPAD

This sheet is intended for you to write down at least two questions you will ask any of the characters. Use it for any notes that will help you decide whether or not the United States should normalize relations with Vietnam. The last space below is intended for you to write down issues that come to your mind as you are sorting out the different views of the characters. This will assist you during the class discussion.

QUESTIONS:

NOTES:

CRITIQUE OF POSITIONS:

handout #3

LEADERS WELCOME ERA OF COOPERATION*

BILL CLINTON'S STATEMENT

Washington, July 11, 1995—Following is a transcript of President Clinton's announcement establishing full diplomatic relations between the United States and Vietnam.

Today, I am announcing the normalization of diplomatic relationships with Vietnam.

From the beginning of this Administration, any improvement in relationships between America and Vietnam has depended upon making progress on the issue of Americans who were missing in action or held as prisoners of war. Last year, I lifted the trade embargo on Vietnam in response to their cooperation and to enhance our efforts to secure the remains of lost Americans and to determine the fate of those whose remains had not been found.

It has worked. In 17 months Hanoi has taken important steps to help us resolve many cases. Twenty-nine families have received the remains of their loved ones, and at last have been able to give them the proper burial. Hanoi has delivered to us hundreds of pages of documents shedding light on what happened to Americans in Vietnam, and Hanoi has stepped up its cooperation with Laos, where many Americans were lost. We have reduced the number of so-called "discrepancy cases," in which we have had reason to believe that Americans were still alive after they were lost, to 55, and we will continue to work to resolve more cases.

Hundreds of dedicated men and women are working on all these cases, often under extreme hardship and real danger, in the mountains and jungles of Indochina. On behalf of all Americans, I want to thank them, and I want to pay a special tribute to Gen. John Vessey, who has worked so tirelessly on this issue for Presidents Reagan and Bush, and for our Administration. He has made a great difference to a great many families, and we, as a nation, are grateful for his dedication and for his service. Thank you so much.

I also want to thank the Presidential delegation led by Deputy Secretary of Veterans' Affairs Hershel Gober, Winston Lord and James Walls, who have helped us to make so much progress on these issues. And, I am especially grateful to the leaders of the families and the veterans' organizations, who have worked with the delegation and maintained their extraordinary commitment to finding the answers we seek. Never before in the history of warfare has such an extensive effort been made to resolve the fate of soldiers who did not return.

Let me emphasize, normalization of our relations with Vietnam is not the end of our effort. From the early days of this administration, I have said to the families and veterans groups what I say again here: We will keep working until we get all the answers we can.

Our strategy is working. Normalization of relations is the next appropriate step. With this new relationship, we will be able to make more progress. To that end, I will send another delegation to Vietnam this year. Vietnam has pledged it will continue to help us find answers. We will hold them to that pledge.

By helping to bring Vietnam into the community of nations, normalization also serves our interest in working for a free and peaceful Vietnam in a stable and peaceful Asia. We will begin to normalize our trade relations with Vietnam, whose economy is now liberalizing and integrating into the economy of the Asia-Pacific region.

Our policy will be to implement the appropriate United States government programs to develop trade with Vietnam, consistent with United States law. As you know, many of these programs require

certifications regarding human rights and labor rights before they can proceed. We have already begun discussing human rights issues with Vietnam, especially issues regarding religious freedom. Now, we can expand and strengthen that dialogue. The Secretary of State will go to Vietnam in August where he will discuss all of these issues, beginning with our P.O.W. and M.I.A. concerns.

I believe normalization and increased contact between Americans and Vietnamese will advance the cause of freedom in Vietnam just as it did Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union. I strongly believe that engaging the Vietnamese on the broad economic front of democratic reform, will help to honor the sacrifice of those who fought for freedom's sake in Vietnam.

I am proud to be joined in this view by distinguished veterans of the Vietnam War. They served their country bravely. They are from different parties. A generation ago, they had different judgments about the war which divided us so deeply. But today, they are of a single mind. They agreed that the time has come for America to move forward on Vietnam.

All Americans should be grateful especially, that Senators John McCain, John Kerry, Bob Kerrey, Chuck Robb, and Representative Pete Peterson, along with other Vietnam veterans in the Congress, including Senator Harkin, Congressman Kolbe, and Congressman Gilchrest, who just left, and others who are out here in the audience. They have kept up their passionate interest in Vietnam, but were able to move beyond the haunting and painful past, toward finding common ground for the future.

Today, they and many other veterans support the normalization of relations, giving the opportunity to Vietnam to fully join the community of nations, and being true to what they fought for, so many years ago. Whatever we may think about the political decisions of the Vietnam era, the brave Americans who fought and died there had noble motives. They fought for the freedom and the independence of the Vietnamese people. Today the Vietnamese are independent. And we believe this step will help to extend the reach of freedom in Vietnam, and in so doing to enable these fine veterans of Vietnam to keep working for that freedom.

This step will also help our own country to move forward on an issue that has separated Americans from one another for too long now. Let the future be our destination. We have so much work ahead of us. This moment offers us the opportunity to bind up our own wounds. They have resisted time for too long. We can now move on to common grounds. Whatever divided us before, let us consign to the past. Let this moment, in the words of Scripture, "be a time to heal, and a time to build." Thank you all. And God bless America.

* Source: *Vietnam Investment Review*, July 17–23, 1995, p. 6.

handout #4

LEADERS WELCOME ERA OF COOPERATION*

VO VAN KIET'S STATEMENT

Following is a transcript of Prime Minister Vo Van Kiet's speech regarding the United States' normalization of relations with Vietnam.

President Clinton's statement to extend diplomatic recognition to and establish normal relations with Vietnam is an important decision, reflecting the wish of broad sections of the American people to put the war behind and to build a normal, friendly relationship with Vietnam.

This decision is in keeping with the prevailing trend of the international situation and contributes positively to the cause of peace, stability and development in Southeast Asia as well as in the world at large.

For years, the Government and people of Vietnam's position has been that the United States and Vietnam should look forward to the future and entertain normal mutual relations.

Therefore, the Government and people of Vietnam welcome the July 11 decision of President Clinton.

We stand ready to work with the United States Administration in order to reach an agreement for a new framework for relationship between the two countries on the basis of equality, mutual respect for each other's independence and sovereignty, mutual benefit and conformity with the universally recognized principles of international law.

I do hope that the governments and peoples of the two countries will cooperate effectively to further resolve the humanitarian issues left behind on both sides by the war, expand relations to areas of mutual interest, first and foremost in the economic, trade, scientific and technological fields.

These relations will serve the legitimate interests of the peoples of both countries and contribute to the cause of peace, stability and cooperation in the region as well as in the world.

Prompted by humanitarian spirit, the Government and people of Vietnam will continue to do their utmost in working together with the United States towards the fullest possible accounting of the Americans missing in action in the Vietnam War.

The Government and people of Vietnam believe that the latest developments in Vietnam–U.S. relations will enable the Vietnamese community in the United States to get closer to their homeland.

The Government of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam calls upon all the Vietnamese living in the United States to help each other in unity to strive for a peaceful and prosperous life, helping develop a new relationship between Vietnam and the United States.

They will at the same time, share endeavours with fellow Vietnamese inside the country to build a strong Vietnam with a prosperous people and a just and civilized society.

The Government and people of Vietnam wish to express their sincere gratitude to all the individuals and organizations in the United States as well as in other countries who have contributed to the process of normalization of U.S.–Vietnam relations.

On this occasion, the Vietnamese Government once again reiterates its consistent policy of actively working together with all countries in the world community, especially with neighbouring countries in Asia, for peace, stability, cooperation and development.

* Source: *Vietnam Investment Review*, July 17–23, 1995, p. 6.

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POLICY ISSUES PREEMINENT IN THE U.S.–VIETNAM BILATERAL RELATIONSHIP

- Economic relations, namely, the granting of nondiscriminatory trading (most favored nation—MFN) status and access to the U.S. generalized system of preferences (GSP)
- The POW/MIA issue
- Human rights
- Political change
- Vietnam as the seventh member of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN)

Source: Brown, Frederick Z., "U.S.–Vietnam Normalization—Past, Present, and Future," in Morley, James W. and Masashi Nishihara, editors. *Vietnam Joins the World*. New York: M.E. Sharpe. 1996.

"Street Talk" from Vietnam: Reactions to U.S. Normalization of Relations with Vietnam

The *Vietnam Investment Review* is an English newspaper published in Vietnam. Following President Clinton's announcement on July 11, 1995 to establish full diplomatic relations between the United States and Vietnam, the *Vietnam Investment Review* printed reactions from Vietnamese. The following are excerpts* from these reactions.

Luong Bach Van, Plastics Technology Center	Normalization helps Vietnam enter the North American market... However, the new relations also bring about many difficulties. Since Vietnam starts the race far behind her neighboring countries, Vietnamese entrepreneurs have to look for more efficient ways to grasp modern technologies through cooperation and investment. Unless the State works out a proper investment strategy for the industry, some local enterprises will die soon. That's why there are so many worries mixed with joy over the news.
Doan Ngoc Thanh, Tire factory	If Vietnam had not normalized relations with the U.S., there would be difficulties setting up relations with many other developing countries. Normalization also gives overseas Vietnamese a chance to come back to their long-separated motherland. As a manufacturer, I hope the U.S. presence won't hinder the development of local enterprises. I believe the Vietnamese Government will work out appropriate policies to protect local manufacturers.
Nguyen Thanh Van, Binh Tien (Biti's) Company	The technological gap between Vietnam and other nations in the region is rather big, but not as big compared with the U.S. Normalization now gives us more favorable opportunities to contact U.S. counterparts. We have to wait and see how cooperative the Americans will be.
Nguyen Duc Hoan, Garmex Cholon	We should waste no time integrating into the world market. For the garment industry, we can see the immediate advantage of normalization since from now on, Taiwan and Hong Kong can no longer offer the lowest prices. Who can bully Vietnam when she is economically strong?

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Ngo Cong Duc, VP Bank	The normalization of diplomatic relations between the U.S. and Vietnam is an important factor in maintaining political stability in the region. The whole region voiced its consensus with America's decision. The events should have happened sooner, but burdened with the deep complexity of losing the war, the U.S. hesitated. This is only the first step in the search for both countries' common aims. It is for the economic benefit of both nations and for long-term stability in the region.
Ba Uyen, Hanoi Safe Water Company	The event concerning USA is worth some attention. The war is long over, what's the point of continuing to hate each other? The event is not only advantageous for the relationship of the two nations involved but it presents a better opportunity for either country to have a good image in the eyes of the world.

* Source: "Street Talk: In with the In Crowd," *Vietnam Investment Review*, July 24–30, 1995. p. 6.

READERS' THEATER NAMETAGS

Senator Charles S. Robb Virginia—Chairman Subcommittee on East Asian and Pacific Affairs	Senator John F. Kerry Massachusetts Subcommittee on East Asian and Pacific Affairs
Senator Frank H. Murkowski Alaska Subcommittee on East Asian and Pacific Affairs	Senator Larry Pressler South Dakota Subcommittee on East Asian and Pacific Affairs
Al Baker Chairman and CEO Halliburton Energy Services	Ann Mills Griffiths Executive Director National League of Families of American Prisoners and Missing in Southeast Asia
Senator Robert J. Kerrey Nebraska	Winston Lord Assistant Secretary for East Asian and Pacific Affairs Department of State

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Quan Qhoc Nguyen M.D.	Edward W. Ross Acting Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense POW/MIA Affairs Department of Defense
John Terzano President Vietnam Veterans of America Foundation	

Lesson 5

JAPANESE RELATIONS WITH VIETNAM

WITH A FOCUS ON FOREIGN AID

Organizing Questions

- What is foreign aid?
- How has Japanese foreign aid to Vietnam changed over time?

Introduction

The purpose of this lesson is to introduce students to the concept of foreign aid. Japanese foreign aid to Vietnam serves as a case study. Students learn about Vietnam's position on Japan's official development aid and the priority areas of Japan's official development aid, as well as analyze projects in Vietnam funded with Japanese aid.

Objectives

knowledge

- to understand the concept of foreign aid, and how it can influence relations between countries
- to learn about Japanese relations with Vietnam

attitude

- to develop an appreciation of the importance of foreign aid to developing countries

skill

- to practice skills of analysis

Materials

- Definition of Foreign Aid, overhead transparency
- Handout #1, Dictionary of Terms, one copy per student
- Handout #2, Timeline of Japanese Aid to Vietnam, one copy per small group
- Handout #3, Vietnam's Position on Japan's Official Development Aid, one copy per small group
- Handout #4, Priority Areas of Japan's Official Development Aid, one copy per small group
- Handout #5, Projects in Vietnam Funded with Japanese Aid, one copy per small group

Procedure—
Part 1

In Part 1, students will discuss the term "foreign aid."

1. Begin by asking students for examples of times they were asked to do a favor, e.g., help with a mathematics homework assignment, loan money for lunch, etc. In addition, ask how they replied to the requests. Were contingencies made? For example: If you help me with my English homework assignment, I will help you with your mathematics homework assignment; I will loan you money for lunch, so let me borrow your car for the evening.

   Take the examples one step further. If someone doesn't follow through on his/her part of the agreement, one may reply with "Since you didn't help me with my English homework assignment, I won't help you with your mathematics homework assignment" or "Since you didn't return my car at the agreed-upon time, I won't loan you money again."

   Though somewhat oversimplified, these examples provide a framework for students to understand the concept of "foreign aid."

2. Ask students to define "foreign aid" and give examples of foreign aid. Following a brief discussion, utilize the transparency Definition of Foreign Aid, to further elaborate on the discussion. Pay special attention to the three points listed on the transparency. Regarding #1, point out that nations giving aid try to strengthen their own national defenses by strengthening friendly or neutral governments; regarding #2, nations give aid to create or maintain trade and investment connections with other nations; finally regarding #3, when nations give aid, they expect the receiving nations to support, or at least not oppose, their political policies.
3. Next, discuss the different forms of foreign aid. Foreign aid may take the form of food, clothing, or volunteers working to improve a country's rice crop or to teach people how to operate machinery. Foreign aid could also take the form of long-term loans to help developing countries build railroads, roads, bridges, etc.

   However, point out that foreign aid does not include military forces sent to another country, international trade, private international investment, or diplomatic efforts.

   Nongovernmental organizations like the Red Cross offer *private* aid. Governments give *official* or *public* aid. Official aid given by one country to another is called *bilateral* aid, and aid given by more than one country through the United Nations or another institution is called *multilateral* aid. Handout #1, Dictionary of Terms, provides students with all of these definitions.

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Procedure—Part 2

In this activity, students examine Vietnam's position on Japan's official development aid and priority areas of Japan's official development aid to Vietnam, and analyze projects in Vietnam that have been funded by Japanese aid.

1. Inform students that with the background information on foreign aid that they have introduced to, they will next examine Japan's foreign aid to Vietnam.

2. Divide the class into small groups of 3 or 4 students. Distribute copies of Handout #2, Timeline of Japanese Aid to Vietnam; Handout #3, Vietnam's Position on Japan's Official Development Aid; Handout #4, Priority Areas of Japan's Official Development Aid; and Handout #5, Projects in Vietnam Funded with Japanese Aid, to each group.
3. Handout #5 is divided into five years, 1990–1994. Assign each group to analyze the projects funded from 1990–1992, in 1993, or in 1994. Information about projects funded for 1995 is not yet available from Japan's Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Students should analyze the projects, keeping the information on Handouts #3 and #4 in mind. The following questions should be considered in the analysis:
   - Does each project seem to support both Vietnam's position on Japan's official development aid and priority areas of Japan's official development aid?
   - Do some projects seem to be more beneficial to Japan? to Vietnam?
   - How does Japan's foreign aid to Vietnam support the three foreign policy goals listed under the dictionary definition of "foreign aid"?

If students were introduced to the information in Lesson 3 of this curriculum unit, "Vietnam's Economy in Transition," you may also want the small groups to consider the following question:

- How do the projects contribute to the development of Vietnam's economic sectors (i.e., agriculture, infrastructure, industry, services) discussed in Lesson 3?

Allow 20–30 minutes for the small groups to analyze the projects.

4. Debrief this activity by having groups of students share their analyses.
5. Bring closure to this lesson by asking students to discuss how Japan's aid to Vietnam has changed over time. How has it been impacted by events surrounding Vietnam and its relations with other countries?

Assessment

You may want to assign research projects or essays on foreign aid. Some suggested ideas are to have students:

- Research a nongovernmental organization like the Red Cross and develop a report on its private aid.
- Research an organization like the United Nations and develop a report on its multilateral aid.
- Write an essay on one of the questions listed under Procedure—Part 2, #3, on the previous page.

Some questions to consider when assessing students' projects or essays might be:

- Are the essential concepts well described?
- Are multiple perspectives explored?
- How well was the information synthesized, interpreted, and presented?

Policy Study Reference

Soeya, Yoshihide, "Vietnam in Japan's Regional Policy," in Morley, James W. and Masashi Nishihara, editors. *Vietnam Joins the World*. New York: M.E. Sharpe. 1996.

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DEFINITION OF FOREIGN AID

Foreign aid refers to the money, goods, or services that governments and private organizations give to help other nations and their people. Both private groups and governments give aid to help developing nations.

Foreign aid has also become a very important part of foreign policy. The governments of many countries give aid to support three foreign policy goals:

1. to promote national security
2. to increase international trade
3. to achieve political objectives, including humanitarian goals

handout #1

DICTIONARY OF TERMS

Foreign aid	Foreign aid refers to the money, goods, or services that governments and private organizations give to help other nations and their people. Both private groups and governments give aid to help developing nations. Foreign aid has also become a very important part of foreign policy. The governments of many countries give aid to support three foreign policy goals: 1. to promote national security 2. to increase international trade 3. to achieve political objectives, including humanitarian goals.
Bilateral aid	Official aid given by one country to another
Multilateral aid	Official aid given by more than one country through the United Nations or another institution
Official or public aid	Aid offered by governments
Private aid	Aid offered by nongovernmental organizations like the Red Cross

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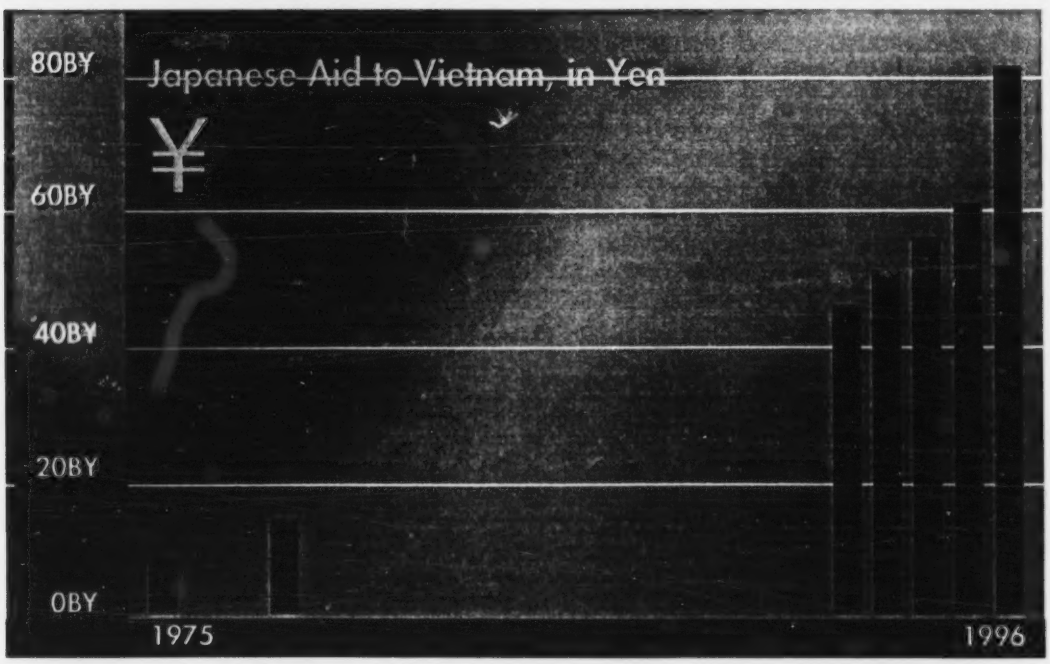
TIMELINE OF JAPANESE AID TO VIETNAM

During the Vietnam War, Japan provided aid to South Vietnam. In January 1973, Japan normalized diplomatic relations with North Vietnam after the signing of the Paris Peace Accord between North Vietnam and the United States. U.S. troops withdrew from South Vietnam in 1973. In April 1975, Saigon fell to the communists. In October 1975, the Japanese government provided its first official aid package of ¥8.5 billion (8.5 billion yen) to North Vietnam, which was seeking national reunification with South Vietnam. With the end of the Vietnam War, Japan was searching for a stable relationship with Indochina. Vietnam was officially unified as the Socialist Republic of Vietnam in 1976.

In April and July 1978, ¥14 billion in economic aid was given to the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, and in December 1978, Japan indicated that it would provide another ¥14 billion in economic aid in 1979. However, following Vietnam's invasion of Cambodia in December 1978, Japan placed a freeze on its aid to Vietnam, except for small amounts of humanitarian aid.

Vietnam withdrew from Cambodia in 1989. Japan resumed its aid to Vietnam in 1992. Most of Japan's aid to Vietnam has been provided to support the development of Vietnam's infrastructure, e.g., bridge and highway construction, port rehabilitation, and rural infrastructure improvement. Since 1992, Japan has committed ¥212 billion (U.S.$2.1 billion) in official development aid to Vietnam. The *Vietnam Investment Review* (December 11–17, 1995) reported that Japan made a commitment of ¥80.6 billion (U.S.$800 million) to Vietnam for 1996. Japan is now Vietnam's largest aid donor and trading partner as well as one of its leading investors. According to an article, "Japan Aid Fund Expands Loan Criteria to Social Sectors," from the *Vietnam Investment Review* (May 27–June 2, 1996), the next loans to Vietnam "would be directed to poverty reduction and hunger elimination programmes in line with economic development targets of Vietnam to 2000."



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handout #3

VIETNAM'S POSITION ON JAPAN'S OFFICIAL DEVELOPMENT AID*

1. Stability and economic development in Vietnam are essential to peace and stability in Indochina and East Asia.

2. Relations between Vietnam and Japan have become closer not only politically and economically but also in the cultural and academic realms since the Paris Peace Agreement was signed in October 1991.

3. Vietnam has, since 1986, been promoting *doi-moi* economic reform to introduce market economic principles. At the time, the country has been improving and expanding relations with the West, including Japan and China.

4. Vietnam, with a population of about 70 million, has a small per capita GNP and therefore has a great demand for aid.

   Vietnam ranks 26th in the country-by-country ranking of bilateral aid from Japan (based on the total value of net disbursements in the period up to 1994).

* Source: Ministry of Foreign Affairs, *Japan's ODA: Annual Report, 1995*, p. 262.

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PRIORITY AREAS OF JAPAN'S OFFICIAL DEVELOPMENT AID*

In view of the studies and research on the current development conditions and tasks in Vietnam and its development programs and the policy dialogues between the two countries, including the High-Level Mission on Economic and Technical Cooperation dispatched in October 1994, Japan gives priority to the following areas:

1) Human Resources and Infrastructure Development

   (Particularly, support for the shift to market economy)

   Cooperation in building a new economic system and in areas related to vocational training.

2) Electric Power and Transportation

   (Improvement of the infrastructure to promote direct investment from abroad in order to achieve export-oriented economic growth)

   Cooperation in electric power generation to meet future increases in power demand, and cooperation in transportation geared to the characteristics of various modes of traffic.

3) Agriculture

   (Cooperation in the improvement of agricultural productivity and diversification of agricultural production)

   Cooperation in the improvement of agricultural infrastructure and in the development and diffusion of agricultural technology.

4) Education, Health and Medical Services

   (Cooperation in maintaining appropriate levels of education and medical services)

   Cooperation in improving facilities and equipment, promoting higher education, and providing vaccines.

5) Environment

   (Promoting cooperation in the environmental field and enhancing environmental consideration)

   Support for the formulation of afforestation and forest management plans and cooperation in the improvement of the urban environment and pollution control.

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* Source: Ministry of Foreign Affairs, *Japan's ODA: Annual Report, 1995*, p. 262.

handout #5

PROJECTS IN VIETNAM FUNDED WITH JAPANESE AID*

Fiscal Year	Loan Aid (hundred million yen)	Grant Aid (hundred million yen)	Technical Cooperation (hundred million yen)
1990	–	• Equipment necessary for producing and editing cultural and educational programs for Vietnam (0.23) (Total: 0.23)	(Total: 1.32)
1991	–	• Audio-visual equipment to the Vietnam–Japan Friendship House (0.18) (Total: 0.18)	(Total: 1.32)
1992	• Commodity Loan (455.00) (Total: 455.00)	• Project for the rehabilitation and upgrading of the Cho Ray Hospital (8.40) • Project for the improvement of medical equipment in the Hai Ba Trung Hospital (3.51) • Project for the strengthening of reforestation program through agroforestry practice in Dac-Lac Province (3.33) • Grass-roots projects [4 projects] (0.14) • Gymnastic equipment to Ministry of Culture, Information, and Sports (0.49) (Total: 15.87)	(Total: 3.32)

* Source: Ministry of Foreign Affairs, *Japan's ODA: Annual Report, 1995*, p. 262.

1993	• Phu My thermal power plant (269.42) • Pha Lai thermal power plant (7.30) • Ham Thuan-Da Mi hydropower project (14.63) • National Highway No. 5 improvement project (87.82) • National Highway No. 1 bridge rehabilitation project (38.70) • Ha Noi-Ho Chi Minh City Railway Bridge rehabilitation project (40.42) • Hai Phong Port rehabilitation project (39.75) • Commodity loan [rehabilitation loan] (25.00) (Total: 523.04)	• Project for the rehabilitation and upgrading of the Cho Ray Hospital (8.03) • Project for the improvement of water supply facilities in Gia Lam Area, Hanoi City [Phase I] (9.84) • Project for the improvement of the facilities and equipment of the Faculty of Agriculture, Can Tho University (7.88) • Project for the improvement of water supply facilities in Gia Lam Area, Hanoi City [Phase II] [Detailed design] (0.65) • Non-project grant aid (30.00) • Project for improvement of medical equipment in Hanoi City (5.65) • Project for video and film editing equipment to the Vietnam Animated Cartoon Film Studio (0.46) • Grass-roots projects [4 projects] (0.19) (Total: 62.70)	(Total: 13.16)

1994	–	• Project for rehabilitation and upgrading of the Cho Ray Hospital (8.77) • Project for improvement of medical equipment in Hanoi City (11.26) • Project for improvement of water supply facilities in Gia Lam Area, Hanoi City [Phase II] (15.12) • Project for improvement of the facilities and equipment of the Faculty of Agriculture, Can Tho University (2.35) • Project for improvement of the facilities of primary schools [Phase I] (14.46) • Musical instruments to the Hanoi Conservatory of Music (0.43) • Language laboratory system to the University of Ho Chi Minh City (0.42) • Grass-roots projects [4 projects] (0.12) (Total: 52.93)	(Total: 13.16)
Total	978.04	131.91	32.28

Note to students: The figures above are in hundred million yen. One hundred million yen equals approximately U.S.$833,333 using the current exchange rate (March 1997) of about U.S.$1=120 yen.

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Lesson 6

ASEAN—Association of Southeast Asian Nations

Organizing Questions

- What is the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN)?
- What were some ASEAN–Vietnam-related events prior to Vietnam's ASEAN membership in 1995?
- What are some Japanese and U.S. perspectives on Vietnam and its ASEAN membership?

Introduction

In this activity, students will learn about the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) and ASEAN–Vietnam relations up to Vietnam's official ASEAN membership in 1995. In the first part of the lesson, students in groups will read original radio broadcast transcripts and newspaper articles that cover the earlier years (mid-1970s) of the ASEAN–Vietnam relationship. Through discussion questions, students will have an opportunity to analyze these broadcasts and articles to get a better grasp of the events leading to Vietnam's ultimate admission into ASEAN in 1995.

In the second part of the lesson, groups will read summaries of four major events involving Vietnam that occurred between 1977 and 1995. With the knowledge gathered from the summaries, students will compose their own radio broadcasts and present them to the entire class.

Objectives

knowledge

- to gain a basic understanding of ASEAN and its role in economic development
- to learn about events prior to Vietnam's joining ASEAN in 1995
- to gain knowledge about U.S. and Japanese relations with Vietnam and its ASEAN membership

attitude

- to learn about Vietnamese, U.S., and Japanese perspectives on ASEAN
- to develop an appreciation for the complexity involved in reaching consensus within working groups

skill

- to critically analyze primary sources

lesson six

- to effectively present a summary of group activities

Materials

- Handout #1: Overview of ASEAN, one per student
- Overhead transparency: Map of the Asia/Pacific Region
- Radio Broadcasts #1: Vietnam's Early Views on ASEAN, one per group
- News Clips #1: ASEAN's Early Views on a Unified Vietnam, one per group
- Radio Broadcasts #2: Vietnam Encourages Communist Movements in ASEAN Countries, one per group
- News Clips #2: ASEAN Responds to Vietnam's Encouragement of Communist Movements, one per group
- Handout #2: Summary of ASEAN–Vietnam Relations, one per student

Procedure—Part 1

1. Begin the lesson with a brief general discussion on alliances, regional cooperation, and international pressure. As a class, have the students answer the following questions:
   - What are some examples of countries who were once enemies becoming allies?
   - Are alliances based on equal relationships among the allied countries?
   - When is a nation, or a group of nations, justified in becoming involved in the affairs of another nation?
   - What are some of the reasons nations might be interested in regional cooperation (think of the European Union, NAFTA, NATO)?
   - What are some examples of problems that have been resolved through international cooperation or pressure?

2. Distribute Handout #1, Overview of ASEAN, to each student. Using the transparency, Map of the Asia/Pacific Region, have students locate the seven ASEAN nations, i.e., Brunei, Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore, Thailand, and Vietnam. Discuss Handout #1 using the following suggested questions:
   - What are some of the key words in the ASEAN Declaration that suggest the importance of cooperation and integration?
   - If ASEAN is not a military or political alliance, should ASEAN members coordinate their opinions and act together on international political problems?
   - Describe the United States' and Japan's relationship with ASEAN.

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3. To introduce students to Vietnam's early relations with ASEAN in the mid–1970s, divide the class into four or eight groups and distribute one of the following to each group.

   - Radio Broadcasts #1: Vietnam's Early Views on ASEAN
   - News Clips #1: ASEAN's Early Views on a Unified Vietnam
   - Radio Broadcasts #2: Vietnam Encourages Communist Movements in ASEAN Countries
   - News Clips #2: ASEAN Responds to Vietnam's Encouragement of Communist Movements

4. Have the groups read and discuss the questions on the radio broadcasts and/or newspaper articles. Each group should also prepare to share a summary of its discussion with another group. Student groups who examined radio broadcasts should be paired with student groups who examined news clips, so that Vietnamese and ASEAN perspectives can be compared. This activity is designed to set the context for the activity that follows.

Procedure—Part 2

1. Divide the class into the same four or eight groups. Distribute Handout #2, Summary of ASEAN–Vietnam Relations, to each student. This handout is divided into four sections: (1) The unification of Vietnam, 1976; (2) Vietnam's invasion of Cambodia, 1978; (3) ASEAN's criticism of Vietnam's invasion of Cambodia, 1979–89; and (4) Vietnam's admission to ASEAN, 1995.

2. Assign each group to create a five-minute radio broadcast on one of the four sections. Each group must decide if the radio broadcast will be from the United States, Japan, Vietnam, or an ASEAN country. Each group may also want to include a weather report, advertisements, etc. in their report.

3. Allow 30 to 40 minutes for the groups to prepare their broadcasts.

4. Have each group present its five-minute broadcast to the rest of the class.

5. Debrief with the following:

   - How many different country perspectives were presented through the radio broadcasts by students? How were they similar or different?
   - If groups presented radio broadcasts from the United States, how do you think the Vietnamese government might have responded to these perspectives?
   - If groups presented radio broadcasts from Vietnam, how do you think the U.S., Japanese, or another country's government might have responded to these perspectives?

lesson six

Assessment

To assess the radio broadcasts, you may want to consider the students' ability to synthesize information from the articles, focus on key concepts and/or ideas, the appropriateness of the radio broadcast format, and time management, as well as the students' general understanding of ASEAN.

Policy Study Reference

Zagoria, Donald S. "Joining ASEAN," in Morley, James W. and Masashi Nishihara, editors. *Vietnam Joins the World*. New York: M.E. Sharpe. 1996.

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OVERVIEW OF ASEAN

The Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) was formed by Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore, and Thailand in 1967. Brunei joined the organization in 1984 when it gained independence from Great Britain. Vietnam became a member in 1995. Cambodia and Laos are expected to become members in 1997, and Myanmar (formerly Burma) is also expected to become a member in the future. The following chart* shows some statistical information on the current ASEAN members.

ASEAN Member	Population	GDP	Per Capita	Real Growth
Brunei	300,000	$3.5 billion	$17,000	1.8%
Indonesia	192,500,000	$133.0 billion	$680	6.0%
Malaysia	19,500,000	$54.5 billion	$2,960	8.0%
Philippines	68,700,000	$54.1 billion	$860	0.6%
Singapore	2,900,000	$45.9 billion	$16,500	5.8%
Thailand	59,400,000	$133.0 billion	$680	6.0%
Vietnam	73,100,000	$16.0 billion	$230	7.4%

According to the ASEAN Declaration,** signed in 1967 by the original five members, the goals of ASEAN are:

- To accelerate the economic growth, social progress, and cultural development in the region through joint endeavors in the spirit of equality and partnership;
- To promote regional peace and stability through abiding respect for justice and the rule of law in the relationship among countries of the region and adherence to the principles of the United Nations Charter;
- To promote assistance to each other in the form of training and research facilities in the educational, professional, technical, and administrative spheres;
- To collaborate more effectively for the greater utilization of their agriculture and industries, the expansion of their trade including the study of the problems of international commodity trade, the improvement of their transportation and communication facilities and the raising of the living standards of their peoples;
- To promote Southeast Asian studies;
- To maintain close and beneficial cooperation with existing international and regional organizations with similar aims and purposes, and explore all avenues for even closer cooperation among themselves.

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* Source: *Vietnam Investment Review*, "ASEAN: A Special *Vietnam Investment Review* Feature," July 24–30, 1995, Hanoi, Vietnam, p. 12.

** Source: ASEAN Information Series (Jakarta, Indonesia: ASEAN Secretariat, October 1987).

handout #1

ASEAN is not a military or political alliance, although whenever possible the member countries have coordinated their opinions and acted together on international political problems such as the Middle East conflict, the question of apartheid in South Africa, and the Spratly Islands dispute. Another of ASEAN's goals is the achievement of a nuclear-free area in Southeast Asia, called the Zone of Peace, Freedom, and Neutrality (ZOPFAN). Free trade as an objective will be achieved by the year 2003 (2006 for Vietnam), with the creation of the ASEAN Free Trade Area (AFTA).

Japan is one of ASEAN's major trading partners, accounting for about 20% of ASEAN's total trade in 1995. Japan also provides support for the economic and technical development of the region, and cooperates with ASEAN to support the rehabilitation and reconstruction of Cambodia, Laos, and Vietnam. The *Vietnam Investment Review*, a publication from Hanoi, featured an article called "Japan, ASEAN Forge Future Partnership," in the October 2–8, 1995 edition. In the article, the writer, Nguyen Tri Dung, said that "ASEAN needs Japanese technology, investment, and trade while Japan needs cheap ASEAN labour, new and growing markets, raw materials and unfinished goods."

The United States and ASEAN cooperate in the areas of economic and technical development, human resource development, trade investment, cultural exchange, and the environment.

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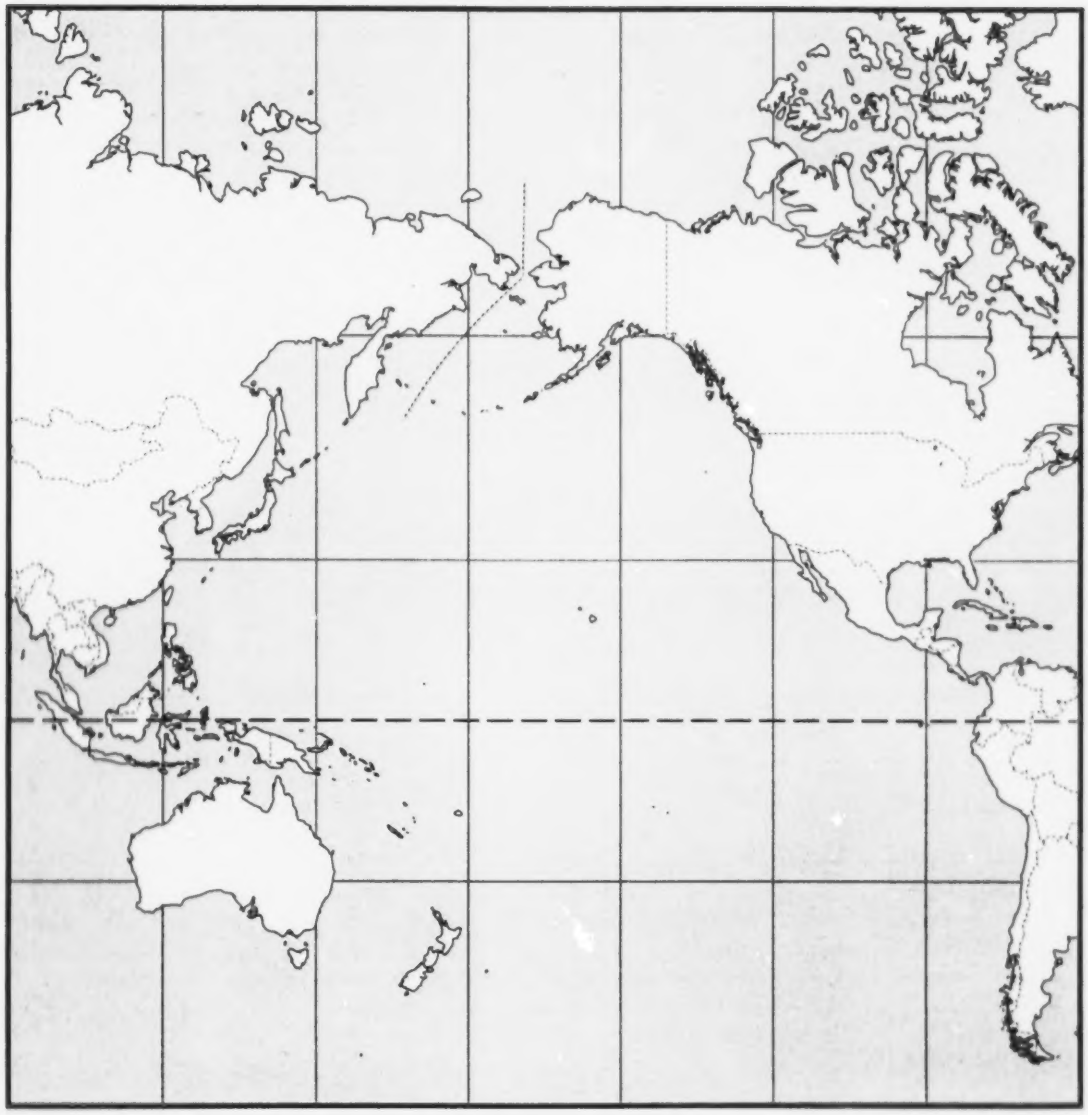
MAP OF THE ASIA/PACIFIC REGION



handout #2

SUMMARY OF ASEAN–VIETNAM RELATIONS

The unification of Vietnam (1976)

After the unification of Vietnam in 1976, the five ASEAN nations responded with calls for closer cooperation among themselves. Three concerns were raised in dialogues among the ASEAN nations. First, concerns were expressed about Vietnamese wishes for "hegemony," or control over Laos and Cambodia, the other two Indochinese nations in which communist forces had been victorious. Second, they suspected that close relations between Vietnam and the Soviet Union would mean even stronger communist influence in the region. Third, they were worried that communist movements within their own countries would be encouraged by the victories in Indochina. Still, with all of these concerns, ASEAN expressed some optimism that relations with Vietnam could be based on cooperation.

Even before 1975, Vietnam was antagonistic toward ASEAN as a regional grouping, viewing it as a U.S.-backed military alliance with the goal of preventing communist victories in Southeast Asia. After the unification of Vietnam, Hanoi continued to view ASEAN as an organization intended to maintain U.S. "neo-colonialism," or influence, in the region. Leaders of the ASEAN nations were viewed by Vietnam as conservative or "reactionary," supposedly following the orders of the United States to oppose "revolutionary" communist movements in their nations. Vietnam encouraged these movements to step up their activities and strive for "independence" from U.S. and conservative influence.

During the late 1970s, tensions eased between ASEAN and Vietnam. Although Vietnam still did not recognize ASEAN as an organization, it established diplomatic relations with each member nation. In 1978, Vietnam made a promise to no longer support communist movements in other Southeast Asian countries. ASEAN countries welcomed these moves, but remained somewhat suspicious of Vietnam's close relationship with the Soviet Union and Vietnamese intentions in Cambodia.

Vietnam's invasion of Cambodia (1978)

Relations were set back severely when Vietnam invaded Cambodia on December 25, 1978, ousted the Khmer Rouge, and replaced them with a new communist government more receptive to Vietnam's own interests. The country's intervention and occupation of Cambodia met with universal condemnation as a violation of Cambodia's territorial integrity and political independence.

The invasion caused Vietnam to become allies with the Soviet Union while ASEAN members lined up with communist China and the communist Khmer Rouge against the new government in Cambodia.

The economic situation in Vietnam deteriorated further under the impact of its invasion of Cambodia in 1978. As punishment for the invasion, the United States imposed an embargo on all trade and financial relations with Vietnam and opposed any aid from the World Bank. Likewise, U.S. allies such as Japan followed suit, further

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limiting Vietnam's access to the world market, foreign aid, and investment.

ASEAN's criticism of Vietnam's invasion of Cambodia (1979-89)

ASEAN, with its purpose of cooperation to promote economic growth, peace, and stability in Southeast Asia, stressed the importance of the various ASEAN countries to form a close identification with each other. Following their commitment to this goal, the ASEAN nations concentrated on demoting a state of confrontation among the members, and working instead on the promoting of economic construction and development of the regional neighbors. The organization hoped to improve relations with the newly unified Vietnam to accomplish this goal. With Vietnam's invasion of Cambodia, however, the conflict led to a deep estrangement between ASEAN and Vietnam.

ASEAN became a key player in mobilizing international pressure on Hanoi to withdraw from Cambodia, and in negotiating the formation of a representative government in Cambodia.

In a statement by the Philippine Foreign Minister as Chairman of the ASEAN Standing Committee, the organization declared that the invasion and continued occupation of Cambodia was in violation of the principles of the United Nations Charter and of the International Law. In addition to the threat to Cambodia's inalienable right to determine its own future free from outside interference, subversion, or coercion, the fighting close to the Thai-Cambodian border resulted in repeated violations of Thailand's sovereignty and territorial integrity. In the spirit of ASEAN solidarity, the ASEAN member-states reaffirmed their strong support for Thailand and worked to resist any attempt to isolate the country.

Another concern that the organization addressed was that of the influx of Cambodian refugees who had fled into Thailand and other border areas as a result of Vietnamese attacks in Cambodia. In addition, the growing numbers of Vietnamese nationals in Cambodia was thought to be a factor in changing the demographic character of Cambodia.

The ASEAN foreign ministers declared that with the comprehensive settlement of the Cambodia conflict, the obstacle to peace and stability in Southeast Asia would be removed. It called on the international community to increase its military and political support to the Cambodian people in their struggle to liberate their country from the Vietnamese. In July 1989, the ASEAN foreign ministers, having reviewed the significant developments over the decade of Vietnamese occupation of Cambodia, concluded that the only means of ensuring a just and durable peace and long-term stability in the region was through a comprehensive political settlement.

ASEAN called for a total withdrawal of foreign troops from Cambodia within a specific time frame, as well as the restoration of the independence, sovereignty, and territorial integrity of Cambodia.

Vietnam withdrew from Cambodia in 1989.

handout #2

Vietnam's admission to ASEAN (1995)

Vietnam rapidly improved its relations with each of the ASEAN members since Vietnam's withdrawal from Cambodia. Accordingly, ASEAN agreed to allow Vietnam to become involved in the organization initially as an observer, eventually leading to full membership into ASEAN.

Vietnam sought admission to ASEAN for several reasons. For one, in order to interact with China, Vietnam realized the need to cooperate with its Southeast Asian neighbors. There is a growing sense of a common concern about China which is being felt by the various ASEAN countries. Secondly, by becoming a member of ASEAN, Vietnam hoped to come one step closer to economic wealth and stability, and reduce the development gap between itself and its regional neighbors. Already Vietnam has become dependent on trade and investment ties with the other ASEAN nations.

Likewise, the ASEAN members have reduced their past mistrust of Vietnam in favor of changing Indochina "from a battlefield to a marketplace." For a number of reasons, however, ASEAN members anticipated a period of transition for Vietnam before it could be fully admitted into the organization. For one, Vietnam's development and exports lag behind ASEAN countries, and Vietnam's economic development is still in transition from a centrally planned to a market-oriented economy.

On July 28, 1995, Vietnam became the seventh member of ASEAN. In joining ASEAN, Vietnam agreed to subscribe or accede to all the declarations, treaties, and agreements of the organization.

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VIETNAM'S EARLY VIEWS ON ASEAN

U.S. forces withdrew from Vietnam in 1973. Two years later, in 1975, Saigon fell to the North Vietnamese. The following radio broadcasts were delivered in 1976, the year North and South Vietnam were officially unified as the Socialist Republic of Vietnam. As you read through the broadcasts, consider the following questions:

Questions for Discussion

- What is the main argument of each broadcast?
- How does Vietnam characterize U.S. influence in Southeast Asia? What specific words are used to describe this influence?
- How does Vietnam characterize the relations between the United States and ASEAN nations?
- According to Vietnam, what are the U.S and ASEAN trying to prevent from happening in Southeast Asia?
- Why do you think some ASEAN countries supported the U.S. war effort during the Vietnam War?
- Why do you think that the ASEAN nations agreed to strengthen cooperation?
- What are the pros and cons of U.S. involvement in Southeast Asia?

Hanoi, **Radio Hanoi,** *February 15, 1976*

...The basic prop of (U.S. President) Ford's doctrine remains U.S. military strength, especially the strength of U.S. naval and air forces. Regarding the sharing of responsibilities, the United States regards Japan as the pillar of its strategy in Asia. It also regards Indonesia as a big strategic country in Southeast Asia and the Pacific. It has poured billions of dollars into Indonesia, plotting to use this country as a regional gendarme in Southeast Asia to support the role of an international gendarme.

The United States is still unwilling to relinquish its plot to use the ASEAN countries under the label of regional cooperation. As admitted by Ford, strength alone is insufficient. Thus, the United States has planned the coordination of other measures, especially around economic aid and increased investment in trade, with a view to controlling the countries in this area. It has resorted to the perfidious measure of balancing forces and dividing and weakening the revolutionary forces in Southeast Asia.

Hanoi, **Vietnam News Agency,** *February 22, 1976*

...To cope with the situation and to continue their neo-colonialist policy, the U.S. imperialists have tried by all means to consolidate and maintain their military bases and forces in Southeast Asia as a deterrent and to use ASEAN with Indonesia as the main prop

to rally all pro-American reactionary forces to oppose the revolutionary movement in Southeast Asia. This dark scheme of the United States has been concretized in the "peace doctrine" in the Pacific area based on U.S. military strength and U.S.–Japan collusion to maintain U.S. neo-colonialism in the area.

ASEAN's extraordinary summit conference this time is actually prompted by the United States with a view to speedy realization of this new scheme of intervention and aggression of the United States in the Southeast Asian region.

The fact remains that this is not the first time that ASEAN offers its service to the U.S. aggressive and neo-colonialist policy. A number of member countries of ASEAN have obeyed U.S. orders to send troops to invade Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos, allowed the United States to use their territories as military bases, supplied the henchmen of the U.S. in Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos with weapons and helped them train commandos and police forces, etc.

...The U.S. imperialists must not interfere in the affairs of Southeast Asia. So long as the U.S. and its lackeys stubbornly maintain U.S. neo-colonialism in Southeast Asia, they will court still heavier failures.

Hanoi, Radio Hanoi, *February 26, 1976*

According to Western sources, on 24 February the first summit conference of ASEAN in Bali, Indonesia, closed after 2 days of work. The heads of the five ASEAN member countries—Indonesia, Thailand, the Philippines, Malaysia and Singapore—signed the conference documents, including a joint statement, a 20-point treaty of amity and cooperation and a declaration which includes a six-point program of action.

Through these documents, the leaders of the five ASEAN member countries declared that they have unanimously agreed to strengthen the cooperation among the countries in this organization in the economic, cultural, political, scientific and technical fields. According to Western sources, to agree on these documents, the five ASEAN member countries have striven to compromise and smooth out major differences in their views. President Marcos of the Philippines himself publicly admitted this disagreement. He said: The five ASEAN countries are still divided by a wall of misgivings and suspicion.

...The documents of the ASEAN conference also asserted that ASEAN will leave open the option for other countries to join the organization. However, progressive opinion in Southeast Asia has made it clear that if the ASEAN countries really want to improve their relations with other countries in Southeast Asia, they must escape from the influence of the U.S. imperialists, dismantle the U.S. military bases in their countries, abandon the policy of tailing after the United States and adopt a truly cooperative and friendly attitude.

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ASEAN'S EARLY VIEWS ON A UNIFIED VIETNAM

U.S. forces withdrew from Vietnam in 1973. Two years later, in 1975, Saigon fell to the North Vietnamese. The following news clips were excerpted from various ASEAN nations' newspapers of 1976, the year North and South Vietnam were officially unified as the Socialist Republic of Vietnam. As you read through the news clips, consider the following questions:

Questions for Discussion

- What is the main argument of each broadcast?
- What are two ways to characterize ASEAN's attitude toward Vietnam?
- What worries ASEAN about Vietnam? What is the response?
- According to ASEAN, what is Vietnam's goal in Southeast Asia?
- How does ASEAN characterize Vietnam's relationship with the Soviet Union?
- According to ASEAN, are the problems in Southeast Asia only a result of events within the region itself?
- What is the nature of the relations among the ASEAN countries?

Bangkok, *Bangkok Post*, January 19, 1976
Editorial: We Need Some Decisions

...Since the fall of South Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos to the communist forces, the importance of ASEAN to its member governments has increased. As the United States withdraws its presence from Thailand and from the region and as Soviet Russia tries to move in to fill the vacuum with its proposed Asian collective security defense alliance, the non-communist countries of Southeast Asia have to come closer together to protect themselves against intervention and interference in their domestic affairs and regional problems by any superpower. The heads of the ASEAN governments cannot ignore political problems and may have to exchange views on cooperation in meeting the threat to their national independence and to regional peace.

The dream of a "zone of peace, neutrality and freedom" should be realized as soon as possible by the ASEAN governments. The cooperation of the communist regimes in the Indochina Peninsula and of Burma should be obtained, but if they refuse to join for purposes of their own, the ASEAN countries should go ahead with plans to bring the dream into reality. Together the ASEAN countries have a population of over 200 million people. As a political collective grouping for political security objectives, they represent a formidable alliance.

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news clips #1

Bangkok, *The Nation*, February 23, 1976

As the curtain rises on the ASEAN summit conference in Bali today, Hanoi has delivered a broadside calling it a U.S. ploy against the Indochinese countries. Whether Hanoi really believes it or not, or whether it is fronting for the Soviet Union whose Asian collective security bid would be hurt badly by this summit, is anybody's guess. But it is understandable that the United States is Hanoi's bogeyman because of the intensive bombing of that country during the Lyndon Johnson and Richard Nixon presidencies in the United States.

...North Vietnam, which is trying to achieve hegemony over all of Indochina but is perhaps frustrated by Cambodia's independence, should realize that the five heads of government who are now gathered in Bali have nothing to do with any American plot nor are they trying to gang up against communist Indochina. It is not even sure whether the security of noncommunist Southeast Asia will be discussed. Hanoi just cannot bring itself to understand that the American military role in Southeast Asia is finished and it must try to understand the radical changes that have taken place in the member countries in recent years...

Kuala Lumpur, *New Straits Times*, February 29, 1976
Editorial: ASEAN and the New Realities

...The political realities in Southeast Asia have assumed new dimensions. New patterns have emerged and new contenders for influence, even hegemony, in the region have appeared on the scene. Global rivalry between the super-powers has introduced a new and dangerous element into a situation that has yet to stabilize itself as a result of the dramatic political changes brought about by the communists' victories in the Indochina Peninsula.

Internal priorities of each member nation have been adjusted to cope with the new situation. Perspectives have changed, rendered archaic by events. The problems of intraregional cooperation have assumed an increasing urgency that calls for new guidelines for collective action.

...Two historic documents—the treaty to promote perpetual peace, amity and cooperation and the declaration of concord pledging the five nations to step up economic, political, and social cooperation--stand as eloquent testimony to the achievements in Bali. They spell out in clear terms the ground rules for cooperative endeavor for the future of the region. But the concept remains unchanged; ASEAN remains "nonideological, nonmilitary, nonantagonistic." It exists to "serve the interests of all Southeast Asia." And as Datuk Hussein Onn succinctly puts it: "Cooperation is its credo; conflict is not its business." It offers its hand of friendship to all. That Hanoi's jaundiced views are unchanged is understandable. The problems of adjusting to new realities is as much an agonizing process for Hanoi or Vientiane as it is for its neighbors.

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VIETNAM ENCOURAGES COMMUNIST MOVEMENTS IN ASEAN COUNTRIES

U.S. forces withdrew from Vietnam in 1973. Two years later, in 1975, Saigon fell to the North Vietnamese. The following radio broadcasts were delivered in 1976, the year North and South Vietnam were officially unified as the Socialist Republic of Vietnam. As you read through the broadcasts, consider the following questions:

Questions for Discussion

- What is the main argument of each broadcast?
- What does "independent" mean to Vietnam? According to Vietnam, are the ASEAN countries independent?
- Do you think Vietnam really wants all Southeast Asian nations to be non-aligned?
- What does Vietnam mean by "revolutionary measures"?
- According to Vietnam, why are the ASEAN nations cooperating with each other?
- What was the Domino Theory? Did what this theory predict ever come true?
- How does Vietnam characterize its own role in Southeast Asia?

Hanoi, Radio Hanoi, February 16, 1976
Southeast Asia After Vietnam: A Southeast Asia Consisting of Independent, Peaceful and Nonaligned Countries

...The peoples in this area enjoy extremely favorable conditions in their common struggle to advance toward a Southeast Asia consisting of independent, peaceful and nonaligned countries. However, the U.S. imperialists, through reactionary lackey forces, are seeking by various means to hold on to this area. They are striving to divide and undermine revolutionary movements and to keep the Southeast Asian peoples within their control. The U.S. imperialists' neocolonialism remains the major danger for the peoples of this area.

The Southeast Asian countries have two paths in the immediate future: Resolutely advance along the path of true independence, peace and nonalignment or continue to let themselves be bound into the orbit of the U.S. imperialists' neocolonialism. It is obvious that the path of independence, peace and nonalignment is the path which responds to the earnest aspirations and interests of the people of each Southeast Asian country and which is consistent with the common trend of the region as well as the epoch's progressive tide.

...Since U.S. imperialism was expelled from Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia, these and the other Southeast Asian countries are naturally again able to establish ordinary and good neighborly relations with each other.

Hanoi, Radio Hanoi, February 26, 1976

...Indonesia has suggested a regional cooperation model in the field of security in an attempt to turn ASEAN into a military organization. However, the issue raised by Indonesia was not approved by other ASEAN member countries because the situation in Southeast Asia has changed and after the U.S. imperialists suffered humiliating defeats and were kicked out of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia, the trend of peace, neutrality and desire of the peoples of this region to extricate themselves from U.S. control have developed more and more strongly with each passing day.

...Yes the ASEAN countries still cooperate with one another in the maintenance of security and suppression of subversion. In fact, they are just colluding with one another to repress the revolutionary movements in their countries.

Hanoi, Radio Hanoi, February 28, 1976
Unprecedented Opportunity for Southeast Asian Nations

...The domino theory formulated by Washington amounts to an admission of the development of the national independence movement in various countries—a development which the United States has failed to check.

...Recent events have clearly shown that the U.S. imperialists and their henchmen are seeking by all means to oppose such a trend. The new Pacific doctrine proclaimed by President Ford in December 1975 is a U.S. scheme aimed at maintaining its remaining position and interests, pursuing neocolonialism in a number of Southeast Asian countries, countering the revolutionary movement in those countries and, at the same time, checking the great influence of the Vietnamese, Lao, and Cambodian revolutions in this region. Washington's major tricks still consist of using military and economic pressure to firmly control its reactionary lackey clique, rally a number of pro-American governments, sow division among the Southeast Asian countries and utter slanders against and distort the situation in the three Indochinese countries.

...The struggle of the Southeast Asian peoples is enjoying favorable conditions and has the brightest prospects ever seen in their history of the past century. By intensifying this struggle, the peoples of the Southeast Asian countries will certainly foil all neocolonialist schemes and tricks of the U.S. imperialists and reactionaries, restore true national independence and sovereignty and restore the ownership of the Southeast Asian region to the Southeast Asians. This is a trend compatible with the law of historical evolution and cannot be reversed by any reactionary force.

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ASEAN Responds to Vietnam's Encouragement of Communist Movements

U.S. forces withdrew from Vietnam in 1973. Two years later, in 1975, Saigon fell to the North Vietnamese. The following news clips were excerpted from various ASEAN nations' newspapers of 1976, the year North and South Vietnam were officially unified as the Socialist Republic of Vietnam. As you read through the news clips, consider the following questions:

Questions for Discussion

- What is the main argument of each broadcast?
- According to the broadcasts, how does ASEAN see its own role in Southeast Asia?
- How does Vietnam characterize communist movements in Southeast Asia?
- How does ASEAN respond to Vietnam's encouragement of these movements?
- How does ASEAN characterize Vietnam's goals in Southeast Asia?
- What has ASEAN's attitude toward Vietnam been up to this point?
- Historically, what did the ASEAN nations and Vietnam have in common? How were the outcomes different?

Bangkok, *Bangkok World*, March 2, 1976
Editorial: The Seeds of Hatred

Mr. S. Rajaratnam, Singapore's foreign minister, has strongly warned the Communist states of Indochina which have threatened to confront the Association of Southeast Asian Nations that they had better mind their own business. "Indochina can choose to be communist, but we have the right to be non-communist. Don't interfere with us," says the Singapore foreign minister.

Mr. S. Rajaratnam is right to give such a warning. Hanoi's thirst for leadership of insurgency movements outside Vietnam constitutes a belligerent posture against ASEAN. Hanoi probably feels that it is now or never because the successful conclusion of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations summit last week has shown that Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore and Thailand want to work together for mutual benefits.

...ASEAN is not against Indochina and it wants to co-exist peacefully with its neighbors...It is a pity that North Vietnam has urged underground groups throughout Southeast Asia to step up the fight to overthrow non-communist governments in the region. It has sown the seeds of hatred and violence among the peace-loving people of Asia. It has tried to shake the foundation for mutual trust and confidence ASEAN has laid down. Our present task must be to strive to consolidate ASEAN and to make it a truly effective machinery so that together we can cope with constantly shifting problems.

Kuala Lumpur, *New Straits Times*, March 4, 1976
Editorial: Hanoi's Attack

On the very eve of the Bali summit, Hanoi made a nonsensical allegation that the meeting was staged by the United States as part of its "schemes of intervention and aggression" against the communist governments in Southeast Asia. On Saturday, this time through the army newspaper Nhan Dan, Hanoi stated that a new confrontation had emerged in Southeast Asia between the communist Indochinese states and the nations of "reaction" backed by Washington. Although this attack was vaguer than the previous one (which explicitly linked U.S. military power with all the countries of ASEAN except Malaysia), North Vietnam's verbal support for the insurgent movements in the region was apparent.

Jakarta, *The Indonesia Times*, March 3, 1976
Editorial: Out of Tune from the North

Very likely the peaceful purpose of the Bali summit meeting is not yet well understood by our neighbors from the north. The Bali Declaration seems to be taken as a reflection of a hostile attitude of the ASEAN.

Taking it that way, Hanoi feels that new challenges are confronting her. This time she mentions about reactionary forces in Southeast Asia. Thus Radio Hanoi, quoting the Vietnam Communist Party's official organ, called for the communist insurgents in Southeast Asia to step up their struggle against existing governments. Hanoi pledged its support for what it called the Southeast Asian peoples' struggle for independence, democracy, peace, and social progress.

The same feelings of the Vietnam people against the aggressive attitude of the U.S. intervention in Indochina will surely develop among the Southeast Asian people against Hanoi, when Hanoi instigates and supports communist insurgents in Southeast Asian countries. The Southeast Asian people, the ASEAN in particular, admired and respected the heroic resoluteness of the Indochina peoples to repel the foreign intervention on their countries. The Indonesian people in particular had demonstrated the same resolute fight against foreign aggression in Indonesia.

It is therefore our opinion that the same resolute attitude and pent-up fight will be flared against any interference to its national independence from wherever it comes.

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